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THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT, AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Eccelesiastical Affairs.

FOUND; A POLICY BASED ON A PRINCIPLE.

"Be of good cheer, my brother," said Hopeful to Christian, as they entered together the river that might not be avoided, "I feel the bottom, and it is good." *Laus Deo!* The doubt and the danger are now behind us. We "feel the bottom, and it is good." Religious equality, by means of disestablishment and disendowment—such is the ecclesiastical policy which has been avowed by the Liberal leader as the only just and possible policy for Ireland. No doubt, "in effecting this great end," as Mr. Gladstone said on Monday night, "we must respect every vested interest, every proprietary right, every legitimate claim, and in every case of doubt that may arise we must honestly endeavour to strike the balance in favour of the other party, and against ourselves. The operation is rude enough after all the mitigation we can possibly impart to it by the spirit in which we may approach it; but that operation, in order to achieve its great results, must be an operation which for Ireland shall finally and conclusively, as far as we are concerned, set aside for ever all we hear of a salaried or stipendiary nature."

When, in 1856, the then member for Rochdale submitted to the House of Commons considerations for reversing the ecclesiastical policy till then applied to Ireland, and urged the pursuit of religious equality along the line of impartial disendowment, his, probably, was the first voice ever raised in Parliament in favour of a proposal so utterly beside the prevailing maxims of reputable statesmanship. Since that time, ideas have ripened with unprecedented rapidity. Within twelve years, a number of intermediate propositions have been propounded, discussed, and dismissed as impracticable. Not, however, until Monday night, not until Mr. Gladstone, as the recognised leader of the Liberals, announced his adoption of the policy recommended in 1856, did the strength of opinion which had gathered around it in the interim, manifest itself. The effect upon the Liberal party was electrical. It crystallised the unstable, incoherent, easily-divisible mass, into solid unity, in an instant. It was felt to be the right position—the only tenable position—and, moreover, a triumphant position—upon which to base the hopes and efforts of the friends of progress for the reconciliation of the Irish people, and for the future amelioration of Ireland's lot. It gave instant relief to the minds of

all who do not rank themselves with the Conservative party. It was like a sudden passing away of a fit of the cramp.

Thank God! we repeat *de profundis*—out of the very depths of our being our gratitude to Him leaps forth. The result is due far rather to events which are under His exclusive control than to any human exertion or management. As free-trade came out of the potato-blight—so Free Churchism will come out of the Fenian conspiracy. Both evils were the natural consequence of an unjust policy—and the penalty of the one, as of the other, was followed closely by an unlooked-for blessing. In fact, statesmanship was shut up to the course taken by Mr. Gladstone. The way on either side was hedged up with thorns. There was no possibility of moving forward but in that one direction, and the command was distinctly audible in the signs of the times—"This is the way—walk ye in it."

And now, having given momentary expression to feelings too strong for silence, let us turn to look a little more closely at what we have gained. When this journal issued from the press last week, the principle which, together with a stout-hearted band of friends and fellow-labourers, we sought to establish as the basis of Irish ecclesiastical policy, appeared to lie exposed to many adverse vicissitudes. By the people, indeed—the vast majority of those of them, at least, who will next year form our borough constituencies—so far as it had been possible to test their convictions, disestablishment and disendowment had been accepted as the true course to be taken with the Irish Church. But it was impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that it was a course manifestly distasteful to several of the most powerful of the organs of public opinion, to the most influential of the Whig magnates, and to the official class of Liberal politicians. The probabilities then within view were that it would have to compete, under severe conditions, with the project originated by Earl Grey, and zealously supported by Earl Russell, for the proportional redistribution of Church property among the Roman Catholics, the Protestant Episcopalians and the Presbyterians. None of us could foretell to which of these alternatives the Liberal party would find itself committed. Even Mr. Bright's compromise, suggesting though it did the elements of a final settlement, increased the danger by making an offer in advance, which by a little manipulation under party pressure might easily have been stretched into something very near akin to Earl Russell's favourite scheme. We are bound, however, to do the hon. member for Birmingham the justice of admitting that in his speech in the House of Commons he so far modified his statement of the proposition he had previously made at Birmingham, as to divest it of its most objectionable, and, in our view, most dangerous features. As matters stood, however, on Thursday last, it seemed too much to hope that the simple principle of 1856 would be accepted by the Liberal leader with stern decision, or would, even under such circumstances, be hailed by the Liberal party with enthusiasm. Such, nevertheless, has been the case. Mr. Gladstone gave the *mot d'ordre*, and the effect was magical. The waverers of the press went round at once—the *Times* at their head—and wrote as if they had never opposed

the policy. Trimming politicians threw overboard their scruples—some real, perhaps, but most of them factitious—in an instant. The announcement was regarded as too commanding to admit of internal bickerings or tea-room divisions. Acquiescence, or a transference of allegiance to Mr. Disraeli, was inevitable—and, for the most part, acquiescence seems to have been rendered with a cheerfulness unknown of late years.

If anything could increase the pleasure of this surprise, it was the position taken up by the Tory party. Mr. Gladstone's masterly move compelled Mr. Disraeli to show his hand. The Premier took his stand on "endowments." Ecclesiastical endowments he believed to have contributed greatly to the welfare of this country. They were one of the greatest securities of civilisation, they were beloved on the whole by the population of both islands. No! he would not consent to disendowment. He would not pay the priests, though he would "change their status"—in what manner, however, he did not explain. "One thing," says the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "appears to us to have been all but conclusively established by Mr. Disraeli's speech. There is absolutely nothing whatever to be said for the Irish Church. It is a mere nuisance, to be abated as speedily and effectually as possible. Happily, the difficulty is small. All that is required is a provision that vacancies as they occur shall not be filled up, that the endowments of livings becoming vacant shall be sold, and that after compensating the patron the balance shall be applied to any public purpose about which there will not be a party squabble. This is no such mighty matter to arrange, and the course of the debate shows clearly that it is the only measure which will really meet the case." The question has assumed the right shape at last. Disendowment carried out in the spirit expressed by Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone in the recent debate—that is, not as a bargain, but considerately, delicately, generously, if you will—but carried out firmly and finally—is henceforth, as we understand it, to be the political programme of the united Liberal party. The work is not yet accomplished, but, thank God once more, the hour of danger is passed.

ECCLIASTICAL NOTES.

THERE is a feature in the discussion of ecclesiastical questions by the higher order of Churchmen of the present day to which, we think, sufficient attention has not hitherto been directed, and we owe it to those who differ from us that we should render full justice to this class of men. We allude to the eminent candour of spirit, and charity of tone, which are now being exhibited by persons who, years ago, spoke of Dissenters and their claims with an almost contemptuous disregard, and who did not appear to be capable even of imagining that there was any honest side to ecclesiastical questions but the one which they had espoused. Very different, we gladly acknowledge, is the case now. It would be possible, no doubt, to analyse the causes of this change of feeling, and, probably, in doing so, we should arrive at the conclusion that, more than in most movements, they have been of an extremely mixed character. Usually the old doctrine is true that all great changes in national thought and the national life spring from below, and it is true here, but only to a certain and limited extent. We believe that the change is chiefly owing to the great moral and intellectual men of eminent largeness of mind, who have



thought who have taught their fellow members of the Established Church a better way of advancing Christianity than that which had hitherto been considered the best, as well as the most practicable. These gentlemen, some of them clergymen and some of them laymen, have arrived at their own convictions without any previous intercourse with Dissent and very little acquaintance, we imagine, with the writings of Dissenters. The result of their influence is now seen in every section of the Church excepting the Evangelical. Churchmen and Dissenters now meet, in social intercourse, with no feeling of superiority on the one side, and no feeling of inferiority on the other. They can differ on the most important of all questions, and discuss these questions with calmness of mind and with a full appreciation of each other's motives and character. Ten years ago a Dean of Westminster would never have dreamed of going to Surrey Chapel, nor Mr. Maurice of delivering a lecture, as he is about to do, at the King's Weigh House. Ten years ago articles like Dean Alford's in the *Contemporary Review*, would have been an impossibility, as also would have been the articles on the "London Press," in the same journal. The hope which we derive from these and other illustrations of a different spirit existing in the minds of many Churchmen from that which once existed, is that it may be possible to discuss every topic upon which we differ with that Christian charity and gentle courtesy which should characterise all the intercourse of men with each other. Everything we do is, of course, a means of education either in evil or in good; if this could come to pass, the hardest controversy—that which is most provocative to passion—might itself be the means, which it now seldom enough is, of the highest education.

We have found, in the *Guardian* of this week, the text to these remarks, but have thought proper, in this instance, to give the text after the sermon. The *Guardian* has two articles on ecclesiastical subjects. The first is on University Tests, and although it is written, to some extent, but not altogether, from an opposite point of view to that which we occupy, we are glad to say that we scarcely know which most to admire, the breadth of treatment or the justice of intention by which it is characterised. The writer recognises the impatience of restrictions which marks the intellectual tendencies of the present generation, and says that any one who watches dispassionately what is taking place around him must see that the overthrow of an exclusive system is a mere question of time, and that it becomes a duty to consider whether any good and what harm are to be expected from merely prolonging the struggle. "Harm," he says, "certainly is done, and that in several ways, to the souls and consciences of men, if religious creeds and symbols are made obnoxious as instruments of an exclusion which has come to be regarded as injurious and unjust." He proceeds to point out the practical effect of Mr. Coleridge's Bill, and then remarks:—

It is easy to exaggerate the probable consequences of the Bill; it is easy also to underestimate them; what is difficult is, to foresee, with any approach to clearness, what their extent will be, and how far they are likely to transcend the effects which other causes independent of legislation are now, and have already been, producing. The religious influences which can be brought to bear on education at Oxford and Cambridge must hereafter, if the Bill passes, be exercised without help or protection from University Tests or the Act of Uniformity. For all that, we do not despair of their being strong—possibly stronger than they now are. Yet the possibility at the same time rises before the mind, that Oxford and Cambridge may, as time rolls on, cease more and more to educate within their walls the classes which now chiefly resort thither—that the privilege of a degree without residence may be sought there—and even that, if refused, it may be sought elsewhere, and that the once obnoxious University of London, which teaches nothing whatever and is no University at all, though firmly established as an examining body, may hereafter attract larger and larger numbers of Churchmen.

A similarly dispassionate tone pervades the article on the last Church-rate debate. The wisdom of the course pursued by the abolitionists is referred to in appreciative terms, and it is then remarked that the present Bill may be accepted "without rejoicing and without regret." The "pale spectres" of defunct schemes have, in the judgment of the *Guardian*, flitted for the last time before the House of Commons. There may be, it is thought, cases of extreme hardship under the operation of the new Act—if Act it is to be—but it is sagaciously added "that it will be some compensation if the clergy and laity are drawn mutually into more active counsel and co-operation." If, we may add to this, this should be one of the results of Mr. Gladstone's, or of any other Bill, the clergy must look forward to a decline of their own artificial influence, and to its ultimate repose on their moral power alone.

It will be seen that the country agitation against the Irish Church is being extended with great vigour

and success. On no question—certainly, at least, on no ecclesiastical question that has been submitted to the people during the last twenty years—does there seem to be such earnestness of feeling and such readiness of response as is shown upon this question. East, west, and north the enthusiasm is the same, and the Liberation Society may congratulate itself on now standing at the head of what promises to be the greatest and the most successful agitation since the abolition of the Corn Laws.

We have had many theories of Church and State, some broached by philosophers and some by persons who are clearly not philosophers. Amongst the latter class we must now reluctantly place Mr. Ruskin, who has, in his last somewhat fantastically-entitled book of "Time and Tide," out-Heroded Herod. This is what Mr. Ruskin considers would be a perfect state of society:—

Putting, however, all question of forms and names aside, the thing actually needing to be done is this—that over every hundred (or some not much greater number) of the families composing a Christian State, there should be appointed an overseer, or bishop, to render account to the State of the life of every individual in those families; and to have care both of their interest and conduct to such an extent as they may be willing to admit, or as their faults may justify; so that it may be impossible for any person, however humble, to suffer from unknown want, or live in unrecognised crime—such help and observance being rendered without officiousness either of interference or inquisition (the limits of both being determined by national law), but with the patient and gentle watchfulness which true Christian pastors now exercise over their flocks; only with a higher legal authority, presently to be defined, of interference on due occasion.

And with this farther function, that such overseers shall be not only the pastors, but the biographers, of their people; a written statement of the principal events in the life of each family being annually required to be rendered by them to a superior State officer. These records, laid up in public offices, would soon furnish indications of the families whom it would be advantageous to the nation to advance in position, or distinguish with honour, and aid by such reward as it should be the object of every Government to distribute no less punctually, and far more frankly, than it distributes punishment: (compare *Munera Pulveris*, Essay IV., in paragraph on Critic Law), while the mere fact of permanent record being kept of every event of importance, whether disgraceful or worthy of praise, in each family, would of itself be a deterrent from crime, and a stimulant to well-deserving conduct, far beyond mere punishment or reward.

After this we hope we shall hear no more cavil against the laws of the Puritans and the Genevese, for has not a man of "culture gone beyond them all?"

THE IRISH CHURCH QUESTION.

CONFERENCE AND MEETING AT NORWICH.—A conference on the important questions connected with the Irish Church Establishment was held at the Free Library on Thursday afternoon, at which a series of resolutions were framed to be proposed for adoption at a public meeting, to be held at the Lecture Hall in the evening. The Rev. John Hallett occupied the chair. The resolutions adopted were as follows:—Proposed by Mr. J. H. Tillet, and seconded by Mr. J. Cope-

man—That this meeting hereby records its protest against the present Established Church in Ireland, regarding it as one of the main causes which tend to promote and keep alive the wide-spread feeling of disaffection to the Government of this country, which unhappily exists in Ireland at the present crisis.

Proposed by the Rev. G. S. Barrett, and seconded by W. F. Paul, Esq.—

That this meeting, whilst it deeply deploras the existence of any such disaffection, desires to express its conviction that no remedy for the present evils can be found which does not include amongst other things the impartial disendowment of all religious sects, and emphatically expresses the conviction that any attempt to purchase peace by the endowment of all sects will utterly fail.

Proposed by the Rev. G. Gould, and seconded by J. J. Colman, Esq.—

That the committee be instructed to promote the adoption of petitions to Parliament for the disendowment of all sects in Ireland.

Proposed by the Rev. T. Foston, and seconded by the Rev. G. Gould—

That the committee be requested to take immediate steps to promote the adoption of petitions to Parliament in favour of Mr. Coleridge's Bill for the abolition of religious tests in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Mr. A. Rapier, Mr. A. M. F. Morgan, Mr. T. Jarrold, Mr. Tillyard, sen., Mr. J. W. Dowson, and others, took part in the discussion. In the evening a large audience assembled in the Lecture Hall, St. Andrew's, to listen to the address of Mr. T. Mason Jones. The building was crowded, and the feeling of the audience was of the most enthusiastic kind. Mr. J. H. Tillet occupied the chair, and was supported by several of the leading Nonconformists of the city. The chairman introduced the lecturer in a brief speech. Mr. Jones' address was of the most exhaustive character, and dealt with the Irish Church difficulty in every phase in which it could be presented to the mind. The address was warmly applauded, and gave the most lively satisfaction to the numerous audience, many of whom consisted of working men. Mr. Jones' lecture was received with great appreciation, and he sat down, says the *Norfolk News*, amid an enthusiastic outburst of applause. The Rev. J. Hallett moved the adoption of resolutions against the continuance of the Establishment, which were unanimously adopted by

the meeting as also was a petition to Parliament to the same effect.

DERBY.—A lecture has been delivered in the Town Hall of this city, by Mr. Mason Jones, the Mayor occupying the chair. The meeting we are informed was very crowded, one in every seven hands were held up against a resolution for the total disendowment of the Establishment in that country.

TYLDESLEY.—On Thursday evening, in the Educational Hall of this town, a crowd of people assembled to hear a lecture on the Irish Church, by the Rev. Thomas Mills, of Leigh, for the Liberation Society. The room was quite full. Mr. James Hampson was called to the chair in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Holland. Mr. Mills, after a few remarks from the chairman, delivered a very eloquent lecture, which was listened to with great attention and applause. At its close, on the motion of the Rev. Mr. Daniels, seconded by Mr. John Boyd, a vote of thanks was given to the lecturer. This lecture is to be redelivered at Leigh.

NORTHAMPTON.—On Monday evening last the Rev. Charles Vince, of Birmingham, delivered a lecture on the Irish Church in the Northampton Town Hall, the arrangements being made under the auspices of the Liberation Society. John Perry, Esq., J.P., presided, and was supported by the majority of the Dissenting ministers of the town, and many of the leading Liberal politicians. There was a crowded and highly-respectable attendance, and amongst the assembly was a large number of the intelligent working class. The chairman, in opening the proceedings of the evening, reminded the assembly that at the next general election many of them would have the privilege of exercising the franchise for the first time, and therefore it behoved them to make themselves acquainted with the bearing of the leading political questions of the day, and especially that of the Irish Church, which was a monstrous iniquity, which must be swept away. The rev. lecturer commenced by referring to some of the abuses and grievances which needed a remedy, now the Reform Bill had passed. Amongst them he cited the Irish Church Establishment, which was waiting to have the sentence executed that had been passed against it, by Protestants as well as by Roman Catholics, by divines as well as statesmen, by Episcopalians as well as by Nonconformists—a sentence passed upon it by the common conscience of the civilised world. After alluding to the early history of the Irish Church, showing how the English had exercised oppression over the religion of Ireland from their first setting foot on Irish soil, the lecturer proceeded to show the iniquity of this Church of a rich though small minority of the Irish people. The delivery of the lecture was frequently greeted with loud applause. On the motion of the Rev. J. T. Brown, seconded by the Rev. T. Arnold, both of whom made eloquent speeches in support of the resolution, a proposition was carried condemning the Irish Church Establishment, and in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of it. It was also resolved that the resolution be forwarded to Earl Russell and Mr. W. E. Gladstone. A little opposition to the lecture and the resolution was raised by Mr. Flanagan, a gentleman who is employed by the Protestant Reformation Society as a missionary amongst Roman Catholics in the town, and who no doubt was sent for the purpose of opposing the lecturer by some of the Church party; but beyond that, the meeting was enthusiastically unanimous. The meeting must clearly be taken as a complete success, and through it Northampton has entered its protest against the Irish Church iniquity. Votes of thanks to Mr. Vince and the chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

NOTTINGHAM.—On Monday evening an enthusiastic but stormy meeting was held in the Exchange Hall, to hear an address on the Irish Church from Mr. Mason Jones. The meeting being free, all shades of opinion were represented. Mr. E. Gripper took the chair. Upon the platform were many Dissenting ministers, and a few reserved seats were occupied by ladies. Some disturbance took place while the chairman was speaking, and Mr. Jones was frequently interrupted with groans and uproar. At the close of his address the noise became so intense and continuous that it was almost impossible for him to proceed. Eventually he resumed his seat amid loud and enthusiastic cheering. The Rev. J. Matheson moved the adoption of a petition to Parliament on the subject. Mr. J. B. Hutchinson briefly seconded the motion. The Rev. E. Lee offered some observations in opposition to the views expressed by Mr. Jones. He said he had been for twelve months engaged amongst the Fenians and Roman Catholics in Ireland in his capacity as a Christian minister, and he had not heard a single complaint from them about the Established Church. He also referred to Mr. Plunkett's letter, and said he did not consider Mr. Jones had acted fairly by him. Throughout his speech Mr. Lee was loudly hissed. Mr. Lorange Torr proposed an amendment to the effect that legislative interference with the Irish Church was uncalled for and unnecessary until the report of the Royal Commission had been issued. The Rev. Mr. Lee seconded the motion, but on being put to the vote it was lost by a large majority, and the original resolution was declared to be carried. Votes of thanks to Mr. Jones and the chairman were then passed, and the meeting, which throughout had been very stormy, terminated.

OLDHAM.—On Tuesday evening a meeting was held at Oldham which is characterised by a correspondent as a complete success. The room, excepting a few reserved seats, which, it appears, were charged for, was crowded, the audience remaining standing for four hours. There was great excitement and opposition. The Churchmen issued a bill summoning people to the meeting to oppose the lecturer, Mr.

Mason Jones; but the petition for total disendowment was carried by three-fourths of the meeting.

THE IRISH CHURCH QUESTION IN DEVON AND CORNWALL.—The Rev. N. T. Langridge has been delivering a series of lectures upon the Irish Church during the past week. The first was given at Barnstaple, in Devon, which was attended by a large and influential audience. The Congregational and Baptist ministers took part in the proceedings. At Tavistock there was, notwithstanding the weather, a good attendance. The Congregational and Unitarian members spoke in favour of disendowment. At Launceston the meeting was also well attended. Here a conference Methodist minister seconded the adoption of a petition to Parliament. At Liskeard Mr. Langridge lectured to the largest meeting of the kind that has been held in the town. On Monday night there was a meeting at St. Austells, of which we have not yet received particulars. At all these meetings petitions in favour of total disendowment of the Irish Church were adopted.

The Irish Episcopalians are already beginning to indulge in violent threats. One is referred to in our Parliamentary report. The Rev. Dr. Taylor, speaking in Liverpool on Monday evening, at the annual meeting of the Irish Mission to Roman Catholics Society, said that an essential and fundamental part of the Union would be broken if the Irish Church were disendowed; and if such a step were taken he should not be surprised if the Irish Protestants began to think that it would be better for them if the Act of Union were repealed. (Cheers.)

At the meeting of the Reform League on Wednesday, after a speech from Mr. Edmond Beales, on the late debate, Mr. Whitford moved, and Mr. Bubb seconded, a resolution to the effect that a series of meetings to discuss the Irish question should be held in Trafalgar-square. Mr. Cremer urged upon the council the desirableness of being cautious in their action, lest they might, by a hasty procedure, place the Liberal party in a dilemma. Messrs. Odger and Cooper approved of the resolution, which was carried.

The *Globe* having stated that the Irish Presbyterians and Wesleyans have, by formal resolutions, declared their desire to retain the *Regium Donum*, a leading Wesleyan Methodist in Belfast has written a letter which has been sent to Mr. Hunt, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, and others, in which the statement is denied. As to the Irish Wesleyans, he says:—

I take the liberty of stating that nothing can be farther from the fact than that they desire the retention or increase of the *Regium Donum*, or the endowment of any Roman Catholic educational institution. I think I know the sentiments of its intelligent laity and its leading ministers on this question, as well as any man in Ireland; and I have no hesitation in saying that any attempt at increasing *Regium Donum* would be strongly opposed by nine-tenths of the body; and as far as I know the views and feelings of the various branches of the English Methodists, their opinions coincide with their Irish brethren. It is also quite incorrect that the Wesleyans have passed any resolution in public meeting, such as described in the *Globe*. That one or two members of the body may have been present at what is called Defence Meetings may be true; but that they represent the views of the body at large is quite contrary to fact. It would also be a great mistake to suppose that the Presbyterian laity approve of, or sympathise with, this effort, which is mainly, if not altogether, the act of a few of the ministers who have not the confidence or respect of the Presbyterian community at large. If the increase asked for be granted, the Treasury might be asked to endow all the Independent, Baptist, Free Church of Scotland, Methodist, and United Presbyterian clergymen in Great Britain and Ireland—amounting in number to about 8,000!

As this is not alone a political question, but a money one, I consider I am justified in addressing the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the matter, and respectfully urging on the Government not to lend a favourable ear to the application. If granted, it would produce an outburst amongst the political friends, as well as enemies, of the present Government not easily appeased.

LIBERATION SOCIETY.

YOUNG MEN'S CONFERENCE AT PENTONVILLE.

The sixth conference of the present season, convened by the Young Men's Committee in co-operation with the Liberation Society, was held at Claremont Chapel, Pentonville, on Friday evening last. Mr. JOHN GLOVER, of Highbury-hill, presided, and in his opening speech remarked that this conference of young men had been called to consider the important question of Church Establishments. This subject had been brought into special prominence by the state of things in Ireland. He feared that the people of England generally were not acquainted with the real condition of the Established Church in that unhappy country; if they were, it would be utterly impossible for such an institution to continue to exist. Since the passing of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1835 nothing had been done to mitigate the gross injustice of imposing on the great majority of the Irish people the maintenance of the religion of a very small minority. He was sure that the address about to be delivered, and the friendly conference in which they would engage, would stimulate young men to take an active part in the endeavour to release the Church of Christ from the ignoble bondage of State patronage and State control. (Cheers.) The chairman then called on the Rev. Clement Bailhache to give the introductory address.

The Rev. CLEMENT BAILHACHE then delivered the introductory address—his subject being, "Why are we Protestant Dissenters?"—which was very cordially received.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Mr. ALLEN, a Churchman, said he had no

objection to the dis-establishment, but he had a very great objection to the disendowment of the Church. He then quoted from a speech delivered by Sir Hugh Cairns, in the House of Commons, to the effect that the endowments of the Irish Church were given in perpetuity, and therefore were inalienable. In conclusion, he affirmed that Maddison, and other founders of the United States, were well-known infidels, and therefore were opposed to Church Establishments, and earnestly insisted that the sanctity of the Sabbath, and the interests of religion in general, would be imperilled by the disendowment of the Church.

Mr. EDWARD SMITH then moved the following resolution:—

That this conference of young men being convinced that the principle of a State Establishment of Religion is unscriptural and unjust, pledges itself to use every constitutional means to secure the objects of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control.

The speaker in the course of his remarks observed that the principle of a State Church was not only inconsistent with religious liberty, but opposed to toleration; that Dissenting ministers were placed by the Establishment in an invidious position in the country; and that every subject who obeyed the laws, was entitled, as a citizen, to equal rights and privileges.

The Rev. J. BOYLE, in seconding the resolution, said that he had no desire to injure, but rather to improve, the Church; but the incidence of the Establishment fell rather heavily upon Dissenters. It was true that Churchmen, with a feeling that he could appreciate, were very sensitive of any opposition to an institution whose liturgy and worship were connected with their holiest associations. But he feared the gentleman who was so apprehensive of the desecration of the Sabbath had forgotten that the "Book of Sports" was issued by James I., who was then the head of Mr. Allen's Church. With regard to the opinion of Lord Cairns as to the sacredness of the endowments of the Irish Church, he (Mr. Boyle) believed his lordship would not have much difficulty in reversing his opinion when the time arrived for the appropriation of the revenues of that Establishment.

Mr. KIMBER failed to see in Mr. Bailhache's address, or in the speeches that had followed, a single argument against the Queen's supremacy as the head of the Church. He then reiterated his assertion that because Dissenters held their chapels and endowments by virtue of their deeds of trust, Dissent and Church were equally established. (Laughter.) He then proposed the following amendment:—

That this meeting fails to see wherein consists the fundamental iniquity of associating true religion with the righteous Government of a nation.

Mr. WILKINSON contended that the great principle of Church and State was established by God Himself—challenged any one to prove that God had changed, or that the world had changed—and concluded by seconding the amendment.

Mr. FREEDIE could not but express his great surprise at the temerity of the last speaker, who, with almost a profane glibness, would lead them to infer that God Himself had established the Anglican Church. Gentlemen would have to find more cogent arguments than any they had yet advanced to convince a House of Commons, elected by the householders of England, that God was the creator of their Church. They claimed the right to all the property of the Church; but whose was it before it came into the hands of the Establishment? If the members of the Church of England had not spirit enough to support their own institutions, then their Church must go, as the *Times* had said the other day with reference to the Irish Establishment.

Mr. MCPHERSON repeated his old argument from Plato, founded on the parallel between the individual man and the collective man; admitted the abuses incident to the Established Church, but contended they were not to be compared to infinitely greater evils springing from the union of the husband and the wife; and declared the Liberation movement had not been begun with honest motives—Dissenters having gone from step to step in their demands, until they openly declared that nothing but equality would meet the justice of their case.

The Rev. W. GUEST, referring to the courteous invitation of the Rev. W. Rogers to Mr. Edward Miall to attend a meeting of the clergy and their friends at Sion College, said this conference had been convened in the same spirit and with similar intentions. The previous speakers who, because the Jewish Church had been established, considered that an argument in favour of Establishments, could not deny the fact that Christ Himself dissented from it, and assuredly the Apostles did not recognise it. An Established Church in England in the present day is only possible on the ground of a complete comprehension, or of an immense injustice; and with all his heart he entered his protest against the principle of comprehension. Did those gentlemen consider for a moment the infringement of their own liberty inseparable from the principle they advocated? Why they could not pray in public worship without the sanction of an Act of Parliament.

Mr. HENRY SPICER, jun., corrected the unfounded statement of Mr. McPherson as to the concealment of their objects by the leaders of this movement, and referred to the avowal of Mr. Samuel Morley before a committee of the House of Lords that nothing but the separation of Church and State would satisfy the great majority of the Dissenters. The Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom was a miserable minority. In Ireland, in Scotland, and in Wales it included but a small proportion of the

people, and it was utterly impossible to think that that would be the Church of the future.

The Rev. STEWART WILLIAMSON, in confirmation of the previous speaker's strong repudiation of the charge of disingenuousness, quoted a brief statement from the "constitution" of the Liberation Society, always published in their annual report; and Mr. MCPHERSON then denied that he had ever charged the Society with being disingenuous.

The Rev. CLEMENT BAILHACHE, in reply, remarked that the proceedings of the evening had confirmed his strong conviction that the opponents of the Society were woefully ignorant of the principles of Dissent. There had been no discussion of a single point in his address, and as he was not disposed to fight with shadows, he would leave the matter to the judgment of the conference.

After a few words from Mr. JOHN TEMPLETON and the Rev. J. O. GEIKIE, the resolution and the amendment were put by the Chairman, and the former was carried with about sixteen dissentients. The usual vote of thanks concluded the proceedings of the conference.

Apocryph of this and meetings of a similar kind, "A Tory Churchman," who sends his name, writes:—

I cannot forbear remarking upon a fact connected with these gatherings, and I trust you will give publicity to my observations. I trust that Dissenters who are in the habit of attending the discussions held by the Liberation Society in different parts of London, will not imagine that the young men who aspire to represent the Church element are fair representatives of the youth of the Established Church. Some few are men who are well posted up in facts, and tolerably ready of utterance; but the majority have no other credentials beside boundless impudence, and do more harm than good to the cause they misrepresent—being neither good speakers, clear-headed thinkers, nor well-read men. I believe the Liberation Society is kind enough to send tickets to some of them. I would suggest that they abandon this practice, as it only seems to encourage brainless verbosity. If they wish to hear what the Church side can say upon the subjects they discuss, let them invite some of the young clergy, who, I have no doubt, would willingly attend. As it is, the young men who defend the Church are much overweighted by the Dissenting ministers, who usually attend these meetings in shoals, and are of course "professed speakers." I am sure all members of the Church would feel thankful to the Liberation Society if they would carry out this plan; unless, indeed, they prefer to exhibit the pseudo-Church defenders to the Dissenting young men, as the Spartans exhibited drunken Helots to their offspring, as a warning of the degradation which they are to avoid. I have written strongly about this, because I feel deeply upon the subject. Vituperation and bombast convince no one, and occasionally some members of the Church party descend to actual buffoonery. If this letter should reach the eye of any of these, I would implore them to discontinue such practices; if it should not, I would thank any Dissenter for reading it publicly to them when next guilty of such conduct. I am sure a challenge to the "Church of England Young Men's Society," and its many branches, would produce efficient Church advocates on any given subject.

YOUNG MEN'S CONFERENCE AT PORTSEA.—Notwithstanding the stormy weather on Wednesday night a large number of young men assembled in Lake-road Chapel schoolroom for the purpose of a conference on the principles and policy of the Liberation Society. After prayer by the Rev. W. Jones, the Rev. E. G. Gange, who presided, introduced the Rev. Charles Williams, of Southampton, as the representative of the Executive Committee. Mr. Williams read a paper on the subject, after which three resolutions were passed—one by which the committee was appointed, another thanking the deputation for his services, and a third acknowledging the kindness of the chairman and his friends in lending their lecture-hall for the conference. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. H. Kitching and several other gentlemen, and a general desire was expressed to call another and a similar conference at an early date.

ULVERSTON.—On Thursday evening a lecture was delivered in the Temperance Hall in this town, in connection with the Liberation Society, by the Rev. W. Walters, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, the subject being, "Pictures of English life in the Sixteenth Century, painted by Bishop Latimer." William Wilson, Esq., of Oubas, occupied the chair, and on the platform were the Revs. F. Evans and J. Coleman, and Messrs. T. T. Briggs and A. B. Salmon. At the close of the lecture, which was of considerable length, the Rev. J. Coleman proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Walters, and said he had taken great pains in presenting pictures giving a good view of English history during Latimer's life. Mr. Coleman also referred to those who had suffered and died since the days of Wickliff for the sake of their religious opinions, and which he said should deepen the value entertained for the principles for which they suffered—being the right of every man to the Bible and liberty of conscience. The motion was seconded by the Rev. F. Evans, who adverted to some remarks made by the lecturer about superstition and infidelity existing at the same time, and said the Establishment now contained within it the two extremes of Rationalism and Ritualism. He hoped the time would soon come when all religious denominations would be placed upon the same footing, and then there would be less prejudice existing between persons with regard to the important question of religion. A vote of thanks to the chairman was proposed by the Rev. W. Walters, seconded by Mr. A. B. Salmon, and carried.

THE ABOLITION OF COMPUSORY CHURCH-RATES BILL.

The following are the new clauses brought up by Sir Roundell Palmer on the report on Tuesday night and carried:—

Clause (A), to follow clause 1:

"So much and such part of any general or local Act as directs or authorises the raising, by means of a compulsory rate, of any moneys for the building, rebuilding, enlarging, or repair of any church or chapel, or for any other purpose for which by the general common, or ecclesiastical law of this realm, Church-rates might heretofore lawfully be made, or for the repayment of any money to be hereafter borrowed for any such purpose, shall be and the same is hereby repealed; and all powers of making and levying rates given by any such Act shall henceforth be construed and take effect with reference to all other purposes (save as aforesaid) for which the same may be thereby given, in the same manner as if no words extending such powers to all or any of the purposes aforesaid were contained in such Act; and when, under any such Act, any common or mixed fund, derived partly from any compulsory rates to be hereafter levied and partly from other sources, shall be directed to be applied for purposes some of which cannot lawfully be provided for by or out of compulsory rate under this Act, the part of such fund not derived from such rates shall alone be applied, and shall henceforth be primarily applicable to and for such last-mentioned purpose."

Clause (B) to follow clause 8:

"No new parish or ecclesiastical district formed or to be hereafter formed out of any other parish, shall be deemed to be part of such last-mentioned parish for the purpose of enabling any occupier of land within the same to vote, in respect of such land, at any vestry as a parishioner of the parish out of which such new parish or ecclesiastical district shall have been formed, upon any question relating to the making or the application of any voluntary rate, or to the election of a treasurer under this Act."

Clause (C) to follow clause (B):

"Any owner of land within any parish or district who shall agree with the occupier thereof for the time being to pay, on behalf of such occupier, all such voluntary rates (if any) as may be made in respect of such land under this Act, during any time to be fixed by such agreement, shall be entitled to attend and to vote, in person or by proxy, instead and in the place of such occupier, at any vestry to be held for the purposes of this Act, but not for any other purpose; and all trustees when in the management and receipt of the rents and profits of any land, and all guardians, husbands, or committees (as the case may be) of owners under disability, shall be deemed to be owners for the purpose of this Act, and shall be authorised to enter into such agreements, and to vote in manner aforesaid; and any one of several joint owners may, with the consent of the others of them, exercise such right of voting on his and their joint behalf."

THE UNIVERSITIES AND "CHRISTIAN EDUCATION."

In a letter to the *Times* Mr. R. W. Raper, of Queen's College, Oxford, *apropos* of the memorial lately presented to the Primate against Mr. Coleridge's bill, inquires how far Christian education has any existence at Oxford University; how far, if it exists, it is in any danger; and whether the danger, if any, is greater from the passing of the bill now before the House, or its rejection. He admirably says:—

In what does Christian education at Oxford now consist? In compulsory attendance at chapel? In voluntary attendance at University sermon? In lectures on the Greek Testament? In intercourse, chiefly official and disciplinary, with the clerical Fellows of Colleges? If this can be said to be Christian education, be it so; but none of these things are touched by the proposed bill for the abolition of tests for the higher degrees.

If the term be extended so as to include the inestimable advantage of good example, holy life, intense devotion to duty, sacred and fearless love of truth, all these may be seen, perhaps, in their highest perfection in men who are even now engaged in tuition, though their faith is notoriously not limited to the dogmas of the Church of England.

But what are the dangers that threaten this religious education.

1. A share in the Government of the University will fall to men "under no legal obligation to profess any Christian doctrines whatever." Some might be disposed not to value very highly the profession of a doctrine imposed by law. Others might think from this language that the privilege alluded to had hitherto been generously extended to all but heathens, instead of being persistently denied to all but Anglicans.

Others, again, might hold that the University has claims to be considered national, and that every phase of opinion has a right to representation and expression there—even that of those who, after the manner which men call heresy worship the God of their fathers. All would gather that the bill would seriously alter the composition of the governing body of the University. It is improbable that this would be the case. The men would remain the same, but fewer would have passed under the yoke of an immoral, unjust, if not unintelligible test; fewer would have regarded what ought, if rightly imposed, to be a solemn reality, as a ludicrous but inevitable form. Not till they become so numerous as to represent a majority of the most highly educated men in and out of the University will their weight be felt in its government, and then who will say that they ought to have no weight, and whom will it profit to have injured and oppressed them?

2. The second cause of danger is the opening of Fellowships, and consequently of Tutorships, "to persons not necessarily Christians, which will imperil the continuance of religious education in Oxford, and tend to the establishment of a secular system." And it is assumed that even the insulted and excluded Nonconformists will give their sympathy under such an appalling prospect. They are in effect asked to forbear to knock at the gates of University endowments and emoluments, lest there should enter along with them, and under their shadow—who?—persons not necessarily Christians; for the sake of brevity, we may call them Free-thinkers. Now, who are these Free-thinkers, and

how do they come by their opinions? for we cannot suppose that they flock to the University, free-thinking at the age of eighteen. Whence, then, their freedom of thought? It either proceeds from their Oxford training or springs up in spite of it.

If it proceeds from their Oxford training it must be either through the influence of tutors who have taken the tests now in force, and therefore the tests now in force are valueless and ought to be abolished, or it must be through the influence of books against which no test is of any avail, and therefore tests are valueless, and may be abolished. If, on the other hand, freedom of thought springs up in spite of Oxford training, the dilemma is still the same; it is in spite of tests, and tests are valueless and ought to be abolished. I forbear to ask where these Free-thinkers go—I mean in this world—whether they leave Oxford or stay and teach; if the latter, can the influence of tests be otherwise than injurious and corrupting?

Here, perhaps, it may be worth while observing that, as a matter of fact, the bill before the House does not "throw open Fellowships to all persons, without regard to religious faith." Though it does open the higher degrees to such persons, it will still be impossible for any but Anglicans to be elected Fellows until every separate college shall, of its own free will, have altered its ordinances and obtained the consent of Privy Council and an ecclesiastical visitor. And when is this likely to happen? The memorialists scarcely seem conscious of their own power of resistance, especially when they talk of dying.

That the result of the bill will be so small is in truth a matter to regret. The danger—if there is any—which threatens what is called Christian education, is not the abolition of tests, but their retention in the face of subscription in lax or non-natural senses. There is danger, too, in the spectacle of a system which seems to imply that God is not a God of Truth to be found by those who seek Him diligently, but a God made with the hands of the framers of the Thirty-nine Articles, for the convenience of those who seek Him not, but may gain 300*l.* a year by finding Him; that God is not Almighty, nor secure in His seat, but needs to be fenced round with tests as with a wall, not insurmountable. The real danger is lest a generation should be reared under such auspices,—free-thinking, indeed, yet neither raising their voice in indignation against tests, nor shaking the dust of Oxford from their feet, but quietly remaining and carelessly signing any formularies which may be offered. Already some, seeing who have signed before, think themselves entitled to subscribe in any sense they may individually please. Is the perpetuation of this form in the interests of Christianity? Is it in the interests of education? Or only of Christian education?

THE LATE CHURCH-RATE DIVISION, which turned upon the abolition of compulsory Church-rates, shows that unanimity is wanting on this subject, at all events, in the Ministerial ranks. In the minority the Government was represented by the Home Secretary and by Colonel Taylor: while in the majority were the Solicitor-General, Mr. Solater-Booth, and Sir G. Montgomery. Oxford University was itself divided, Sir W. Heathcote voting for the clause abolishing the compulsory rate. The 167 who composed the majority included thirty-three Conservatives. "Who would have thought five years ago, or even two years ago," bitterly bewails the *Churchman*, "that the enthusiastic aggregations of 250, 260, 270, and 280, which, in successive divisions, were the minorities, and eventually the majorities, against Church-rate spoliation, would on Wednesday week last have sunk to thirty, and one speaker, Mr. Henley? but such is the fact."

DISORDERLY CHURCH-RATE MEETING IN LAMBETH.—On Thursday, at All Saints' Schoolroom, in the New-cut, Lambeth, a vestry-meeting was held for the purpose of levying a rate of 1*d.* in the pound for the repairs of the church, steeple, &c. The motion was made by one of the churchwardens, and was followed by a scene of the utmost confusion, and loud cries of "No Popery." The chairman, Dr. Lee, asked for a seconder to the motion, but none having responded, the room was cleared amidst shouting, whistling, and cheering.

The *John Bull* says it is stated that the Rev. F. D. Maurice is about to deliver a series of lectures in Mr. Binney's chapel.

THE DEPOSITION OF DR. COLENSO.—A declaration to the Primate, renouncing Christian communion with Dr. Colenso, also a memorial to the Upper House of Convocation, praying the adoption of the resolution recently adopted by the Lower House, accepting the spiritual validity of the deposition, have been sent to the clergy of Oxford, with the view of their being signed.

THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE.—The Rev. Dr. Miller, vicar of Greenwich, having resuscitated the committee for the government of his girls' and infants' schools, and drawn up a code of laws for their management, inserted a liberal conscience clause, referring both to religious instruction and attendance at public worship. The clause was received with marked approval and unanimously adopted by the laymen of a committee composed of the gentry and tradesmen of Greenwich.

THE PROPOSED SYNODICAL ORGANISATION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—It would appear from a passage in the Bishop of Lichfield's forthcoming pastoral letter to his clergy, that it has been decided to abandon the attempt to endow the proposed synods with legislative and judicial powers. The passage referred to runs thus:—"It is now generally understood that the synods shall not assume judicial or legislative functions, but shall confine themselves to such matters of practical importance as fall within the province of a body associated together by voluntary compact for religious, charitable, and educational purposes." This alteration of the original scheme will meet the principal objection

entertained against it by a large number of Churchmen in the diocese, who were of opinion that the institution of synodical councils upon the basis first proposed by Dr. Selwyn would lead to an interference with the religious liberty, both of the clergy and laity, in his lordship's see.

THE SEE OF WINCHESTER.—It is rumoured that, in the event of the serious illness of Dr. Sumner terminating fatally, his successor will be the present Bishop of Oxford. The reason alleged is that her Majesty is desirous the Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce should have the Prelacy of the Order of the Garter, which pertains to the see of Winchester—in which event the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University will, in all probability, receive the vacant mitre.—*Echoes of the Chubs.* On the other hand, the *Morning Advertiser* indicates that Dean Stanley may be appointed to the see of Winchester, and be succeeded in the Deanery of Westminster by the Rev. Mr. Rowsell, a city clergyman of the broadest views.

RITUALISM IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—On Tuesday a public meeting was held at the London Tavern, under the auspices of the Church Association, to protest against existing Ritualistic practices in the Established Church. The chair was taken by Mr. R. C. L. Bevan, and on the platform were—Mr. George Moore, Mr. James Lord, Alderman Hale, Mr. J. Braithwaite, Dr. Jardine, Mr. Martin, Mr. Ford, Mr. Denny, Mr. J. G. Hoare, Rev. Dr. McNeile, &c. The following resolutions were adopted:—"1. That this meeting, being fully impressed with the duty of supporting the principle and order of the Church of England and Ireland, and resisting the innovations of Ritualism and Romanism, desire to express their approval of the course pursued by the Church Association in endeavouring to procure an authoritative legal decision on Ritualistic practices and doctrine, and a reform of the Ecclesiastical law courts." "2. That in furtherance of these objects a subscription list be opened in the city, in aid of the Church Association 50,000*l.* Guarantee Fund, to be called up *pro rata*, as it is required, and no more than twenty per cent. as a maximum per annum."

THE ECCLESIASTICAL TRIAL IN AMERICA.—We lately stated that the Rev. Mr. Tyng, an eminent Low-Church clergyman, had been tried in an ecclesiastical court at New York for preaching in a Baptist pulpit. The court has notified to Bishop Potter that a majority has decided that Mr. Tyng has been guilty of a violation of the canon law of the Church. The punishment for the offence, as it is Mr. Tyng's first one, is an admonition given by the bishop publicly in a church of the diocese, and in the presence of at least three other clergymen. Pending the decision, a similar case occurred in Providence, Rhode Island, where another clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, exchanged pulpits for one Sunday with a Baptist minister, against the express protest and prohibition of Bishop Clark. Mr. Hubbard, in answer to his bishop, says:—"If by any such legislation you cut me off from you, I shall not cease to be an Episcopalian. I shall still remain in the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Many beloved brethren like myself thus cut off will be with me. We shall, if thus forced to it, form a new and more pure branch of the Protestant Episcopal Church."

BURIAL BIGOTRY AT TATTENHALL.—A correspondent of the *Chester Chronicle* writes to that paper that during the past week the quiet village of Tattenhall has been thrown into the greatest excitement through the rector, the Rev. Fielding Ould, having refused to perform the burial service over a poor old pauper widow. It appears that he grounded his objections to do so on her having professed the principles of Mormonism, and therefore not being a Christian. During her illness, there is every reason to believe that she renounced the Mormon faith, prayed most fervently to the Almighty for forgiveness, and grounded her hopes of salvation entirely on the atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ. This can be testified by credible and respectable witnesses, who attended upon her in her last moments, and who have every reason to believe that she died a true penitent and a Christian. This was all made known to the rector the night before the funeral was to take place, and it was hoped that, in consequence of this statement, he would alter his previous determination; but to all entreaties he was inexorable; so the poor old woman was (to the great indignation of the inhabitants) taken to the grave and buried with no more ceremony than would be observed in the burial of a horse or a dog. The *Chronicle* comments very severely on the conduct of Mr. Ould, and says it will be a source of "pain and scandal."

THE REV. DR. VAUGHAN ON UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.—The prizes and certificates gained by the successful candidates at the Oxford local examinations during the year were presented on Wednesday evening in the Guildhall, Nottingham, by the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, vicar of Doncaster, and late head master of Harrow. In the course of an exhaustive speech on the education question, he said it was a disgrace to the Universities that the attendance at them had borne no proportionate increase in numbers corresponding to the vast increase in the population and wealth of the country. In the course of that very afternoon he had in consequence of the Assizes being then holding in Nottingham, heard it remarked in conversation that there was now scarcely a University man on the bench of judges; yet he could remember when every judge was a University man, and he recollected with pride as a Cambridge man, that then all but three were Cambridge men—they

did allow Oxford three. Nor were they only graduates, but the bulk of them had taken high University rank—senior wranglers, and the like. Now he believed not one common law judge was a University man. That marked a great falling off in the higher education of the country. He had no hesitation in saying that the Oxford and Cambridge authorities were moving in the right way in breaking down the barriers between the people and education in the Universities; and though he might not see the day, he believed many of the younger ones present would see the time when the doors would be thrown wide open. It could not be done without a sacrifice of old prejudices, for the authorities would have to do away with the college system. That system, let them bear in mind, was no essential part of the machinery, it was an accretion; and he believed that young men living ten years hence, who could afford humble lodgings in the town, would find that the Universities could not say no to them. They would have in Oxford and Cambridge more popularity to support the humanising and instructing influences of which he had spoken, as well as certifying in the present supplementary way. For that purpose, while there must be more liberty in reference to the college system, there would also have to be more liberty with regard to the religious system.

THE UNIVERSITY TESTS ABOLITION BILL.—This bill, brought in by Mr. Coleridge, stands for a second reading on Wednesday next, the 25th, and, according to a recent statement of the Home Secretary, the Government, and the Conservative party generally, will put forth their utmost strength with a view to its defeat, or, if that be not practicable, to prevent its being sent to the Lords by a large majority. As the Nonconformist tutors and students of Cambridge say, in the circular we published last week, "The party for the abolition of tests grows yearly in strength, as the divisions in the House of Commons testify; but the success of its proposals may be seriously impeded unless the Nonconformists raise their voice in the assertion of their rights." The following petition to the House of Parliament, in favour of Mr. Coleridge's Abolition of Tests Bill, is now in course of signature at Oxford:—

Sheweth, That your petitioners are engaged as heads of colleges, professors, lecturers, tutors, or resident fellows of colleges, in the education or administration of the University of Oxford or of colleges within the same. That a portion of the nation is excluded from the full benefits of the University by the religious tests imposed in the University and the colleges. That in the opinion of your petitioners these tests might be removed without injury to the Church, and without prejudice to the religious character of academical education. That your petitioners therefore pray your right honourable House to take such measures that, without any interference with the religious instruction, or with the religious intercourse between tutor and pupil, the tests (except in the case of persons taking degrees in theology) may cease to be imposed, and the full benefits, honours, and emoluments of the University be rendered accessible to the whole nation. And your petitioners will ever pray.

Religious and Denominational News.

Religious meetings are still being held at Versailles, Porte du Buvette, by Lord Radstock and other gentlemen of influence.

The Rev. W. Morley Punshon has undertaken to give a lecture in Exeter Hall, on the 2nd of April, prior to his departure for America on the 11th. The subject is, "Florence and her Memories." The Punshon testimonial is being kept before the Methodist and the general religious public, but the progress of the subscription has not thus far been reported.

RESIGNATION OF PASTORS.—The Rev. James Deighton has resigned the pastorate of the New Tabernacle, Old-street-road, Hoxton.—The Rev. G. H. Hobbs, of Bodmin, has resigned the pastorate of the church and congregation over which he has presided altogether twenty-one years.

CALLS.—The Rev. E. Evans, of Chard, to the Baptist Church at Torquay, in succession to the late Rev. J. Kings.—The Rev. John Spurgeon, to Fetterlane Chapel, London.—Mr. G. W. Hickson, of the Western College, Plymouth, to the Congregational church at Olney, Bucks.—Mr. D. B. James, of the Western College, to the pastorate of the Castle-green Congregational Church, Bristol.

THE APPROACHING ANNIVERSARIES.—The missionary breakfast and public meeting in Exeter Hall, in connection with the Methodist Free Churches, will be held on Monday, April 27; Alfred Sharman, Esq., of Sheffield, is expected to preside at the latter. The annual sermon at Surrey Chapel on behalf of the London Missionary Society will be preached by the Rev. Dr. Halley; the sermon to the young by the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A.

EASTBOURNE.—On the eve of his departure from this town, the poor people of Friday-street Chapel presented the Rev. A. Foyster and his wife with a testimonial as an expression of gratitude and regard. At the tea-meeting at which the presentation was made great regret was expressed at his leaving. It may be remembered that, mainly through Mr. Foyster's efforts, the chapel was built and opened free from debt during the past year.

SHEFFIELD.—On Monday evening a large meeting of working men and women was held at the Temperance Hall, to celebrate the conclusion of the winter series of Mr. Stainton's Sunday afternoon services in the Theatre. The hall was not large enough to accommodate at once the numbers who took tea. Mr. R. Leader occupied the chair, and there were on the platform the Revs. R. Stainton, J. Flather, J. Cummins, Messrs. Doncaster, Hargreaves, Wilson,

Waterfall, A. Allott, J. Askham, Turton, &c. The report stated that, after the payment of all the expenses of these services, there was a balance of over 13*l*. After addresses, chiefly congratulatory of the success of these services, it was suggested that the workmen of Sheffield should present Mr. Stainton with a testimonial of 100*l*., raised by one shilling contributions. The proposal met with a very favourable reception.

THE REV. DR. ROBERT LEE, minister of the Old Greyfriars Church at Edinburgh, and one of her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland, died at Torquay on Saturday. His death renders vacant the Professorship of Biblical Criticism in Edinburgh University. Dr. Lee was also a Dean of the Chapel Royal. In this country he was chiefly known for his exertions in the work of liberalising the Scottish Established Church. He was the leader of the movement for introducing a liturgy into the Presbyterian worship.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—A meeting of the young men connected with the Princes-street Chapel, Gravesend, was held on the 16th inst., with a view to form a young men's auxiliary to the London Missionary Society. R. J. Nisbet, Esq., presided, and the Rev. S. Kennedy, of Croydon, hon. secretary to the Young Men's Auxiliary, with other gentlemen, addressed the meeting. A committee was formed, and thirty names were enrolled of those who engaged to give or collect a guinea, at least, during the year. The chairman, with another gentleman present, promised to give a shilling to every card that should be brought to them.

SUTTON, SURREY.—The annual meeting of the Church and Congregational Chapel in this place was held on Wednesday evening, the 4th instant. The attendance was good. After tea, the usual reports were given by the pastor, the Rev. I. Jacob, and the friends officially connected with the congregation and the schools. It was stated that in the various departments of Christian work, a fair amount of prosperity had been enjoyed. Upwards of £400 had been raised for different objects during the year. The Sunday-school was in good condition. The new day-school was a decided success, calling for enlarged accommodation. A night school also, during the winter months, in a locality much needing it, had been very encouraging. The several societies—for home and abroad—had been well sustained. After conversation upon the importance of prayer-meetings, and the best mode of conducting them, the meeting closed about ten o'clock.

WARWICKSHIRE COUNTY UNION.—The annual meeting of the pastors and delegates of the County Association was held in the Moseley-road Congregational Chapel, Birmingham, on the 17th instant. Encouraging reports were presented from the congregations assisted by the Union, and the statement of the treasurer indicated increasing financial prosperity. After dinner a cordial welcome was given to the Revs. R. W. McAll, of Lozells, Birmingham; E. Storrow (late of Calcutta), now of Rugby; J. Barrett, of Colehill; and J. Evans, of the Welsh Independent Church, Birmingham, who have recently become adherents of the Union. A public meeting was held in the evening, when the principles of Congregationalism and the claims of the Union were ably advocated by the Revs. G. B. Johnson, of Edgbaston; Mr. Blackie, LL.B., of Leamington; and W. F. Callaway, of Birmingham. The Rev. M. Macfie, F.R.G.S., presided.

ACTON.—Efforts are being made to raise a new congregational church in Acton, a rapidly increasing suburb. A most eligible and valuable site has been secured. On Sunday, March 8th, anniversary sermons were preached in the temporary place of worship—in the morning, by Mr. George Blinkhorn, of New College; and in the evening, by the Rev. Chas. Graham, of Oaklands Chapel, Shepherd's Bush. On the following Tuesday a public meeting was held. J. Whitby, Esq., presided; and speeches were delivered by the Revs. W. Isaac, Ealing; J. Keed, Acton; C. C. Bunnell; R. Redpath, M.A.; W. Farrer, LL.B.; and Messrs. Parker and Blinkhorn, of New College. The meetings were most successful. Good collections were made, and donations promised, towards the erection of the new chapel. Mr. George Blinkhorn has now the oversight of the church, and the pulpit for the present is regularly supplied by students of New College, London.

SOUTHWARK SUNDAY-SCHOOL SOCIETY.—The anniversary of this society was held recently, and two sermons were preached at Surrey Chapel on Sunday last by the Rev. Newman Hall in reference thereto. The society was founded in 1799 by the late Rowland Hill, and upwards of 200,000 children have passed through the schools since the formation of the society. The present number of scholars is 5,377, and of teachers 430. The expenses for the year were 565*l*. 17*s*. 2*d*., leaving a balance of 13*l*. 1*s*. 5*d*. due to the treasurer. In seven of the nine school-rooms daily education is carried on for the benefit of the poor; and the various operations of mothers' meetings, penny banks, Bands of Hope, religious services, singing, working, and writing classes, besides public meetings of old scholars and amusements for the young, added to the original object of the Sunday-schools, show that each of these rooms forms a centre of influence, the extent of which cannot be calculated. Besides a large circulation of copies of the Scriptures, hymn-books, the issue of tracts and periodicals amounts to a number in one year probably not less than 20,000. There were very large congregations to listen to the earnest appeals of the president of the schools, and liberal collections were made.

SYSTEMATIC BENEVOLENCE SOCIETY.—The annual services of this association, which seeks to promote

the principle and practice of giving to Christ and the poor some stated proportion of income, so as to secure a more abundant and cheerful supply of funds and agencies for all kinds of good doings, have just been held in Bristol and Clifton. The annual sermons were preached on Sunday last, in Trinity (Weeleyan) Chapel, Clifton, and in Pembroke (Congregational) Chapel, by the Rev. Dr. Cather, general secretary. The morning subject was found in Psalm cx. 4, compared with Gen. xiv. 18—20, Gen. xxviii. 20—22, and Heb. vii. and 1st Cor. xvi. 2. The evening discourse was in Acts xx. 35, compared with 1st Cor. xvi. 2. A special religious service was held in the Colston Hall, on Sunday afternoon, from half-past two till four o'clock. There was a large and influential attendance of ministers, officers, and communicants of various denominations, including the Rev. Samuel Luke, who presided, Rev. M. C. Osborn, S. Hebditch, M. Dickie, J. Morris, T. Wheeler, J. S. Withington, W. Boden, &c. On Tuesday there was a public meeting at Clifton, which was addressed by the Rev. A. Christopher, of St. Aldate's, Oxford, and the Rev. Dr. Cather. The latter said that for years there had been similar meetings, services, and lectures throughout the country. They were full of confidence that God would use the means that were being employed for the bringing about of a beneficent revolution in the Christian Church. He spoke of what had already been in France, Germany, India, America, the South Sea Islands and other places.

THE WALDENSIAN CHURCH IN ITALY.—On Friday evening a *conversazione* in connection with the Waldensian mission in Italy, was held at Willis's Rooms. That the present position of that Church may be understood, it may be stated that there are at present employed in its ministrations twenty ordained ministers, nine lay evangelists, and twenty-seven teachers of schools. There are stations for the operations of the Waldensian mission at Turin, Pignerol, Aosta, Courmayeur, Genoa, Milan, Pavia, Brescia, Como, Guastalla, Florence, Leghorn, Lucca, Pisa, Perugia, Naples, Elba, Palermo, and Venice. At Florence a theological hall has been established for the training of ministers and evangelists under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Revel. At the *conversazione* held on Friday evening the attendance was so numerous that the rooms were crowded to their utmost capacity—so much, indeed, that about half-past nine o'clock it was impossible for many who arrived at that hour to obtain admittance. The Rev. Dr. Guthrie, of Edinburgh, and the Rev. Dr. Revel, of Florence, delivered addresses in the course of the evening, in which they sketched the history of the ancient Church of the Waldenses, and impressed upon the audience the opportunity which was now afforded of preaching the Gospel throughout the valleys of Piedmont and the rest of Italy. Being a very poor people, it was only by the aid of the Christians of other countries that the community which was the occasion of the gathering could carry on the great work of evangelisation. Their part was to furnish the living men—men of integrity, sound in the faith, zealous for the glory of Christ, and able to address the people of Italy in their own language. The proceedings of the *conversazione* were very interesting, and did not terminate until a late hour.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS.—The ordination, or recognition, service of the Rev. George Williams, late of Aylesbury, who has recently been selected by the congregation assembling in Northgate-street Chapel, Bury St. Edmund's, as their pastor, in succession to Mr. Anthony, took place on Tuesday afternoon. There was a full congregation. The Rev. Messrs. Butcher, Thoms, and Smith took part in the devotional exercises; and the Rev. J. Reeve gave an able exposition of Congregational principles. The Rev. E. Jones, of Ipswich, put the usual questions to the newly-elected minister, and Mr. Samuel Bedells, one of the deacons, recounted the circumstances which led to the selection of Mr. Williams as their pastor. The questions having been satisfactorily replied to, Mr. Jones in a few words spoke of the responsibilities and duties of a minister's life, observing that he maintained that the work of a Christian minister amongst Nonconformists, especially amongst Congregational Dissenters, was the hardest life upon earth. He had been for forty years within one month an ordained minister, and he knew something about it. The Rev. Paxton Hood then offered the ordination prayer, and the Rev. Professor Newth, of New College, London, delivered the charge to the minister, founding an eloquent discourse upon John viii. 1—"Jesus went into the Mount of Olives." The proceedings, after lasting nearly three hours, were concluded by prayer offered by the Rev. W. Warren. At five o'clock, the friends took tea in the Guildhall. The evening service commenced at seven. The chapel was full. Mr. Williams, the pastor, gave out a hymn, and Professor Newth read Ephesians ii. and offered prayer. After another hymn, the Rev. Paxton Hood preached a very original sermon, embodying the grand and fundamental truths of the Christian religion. The text was taken from Rev. xxii. 3, "And there shall be no more curse," &c.

FUNERAL OF THE LATE REV. DR. TIDMAN.—The funeral of the late Dr. Tidman, for many years foreign secretary of the London Missionary Society, took place on Monday, at Abney Park Cemetery, and a large concourse of friends and representatives of various religious societies attended the service. The first part of the burial service was conducted in Abney Park Chapel, which was filled to overflowing. Amongst those present were Mr. Leeman, M.P., Mr. Barnes, M.P., Mr. E. Baines, M.P., Mr. C. E. Mudie, Mr. J. K. Welch, the Rev. T. Binney, the Rev. Dr. Mullens, the Rev. Dr. Thomas, the Rev.

J. Stoughton, the Rev. H. Allon, and numerous others. Amongst the various societies represented on the occasion were the London Missionary Society, the Church, Baptist, and Wesleyan Missionary Societies, the Bible and Religious Tract Societies. After the Rev. Dr. Mullens had read the Scriptures and offered prayer, the Rev. T. Binney delivered the funeral address. After referring to Dr. Tidman's work as a pastor, he said that his real sphere, that for which he was peculiarly fitted by nature, and to which he was inclined by choice, was the room and the desk of the official secretary. He was capable of great and continued labour; he had a faculty for mastering details, and getting a perfect comprehension of a subject, so that, if the expression might be allowed, he saw every side of it at once. He could put things with a tact and a dexterity which few could equal, and if he sometimes seemed a little too determined to carry a point, that resulted for the most part from his conviction that the subject had been longer and more fully before his mind than could have been the case with others, and from his conscientious persuasion that what he aimed at was the benefit of the society and the success of its work. The funeral cortege consisted of a hearse with four horses, twenty-six mourning coaches, and several private carriages. The coffin was of handsome polished oak, and the brass plate bore the following inscription:—"Arthur Tidman, D.D., born 14th November, 1792, died 8th March, 1868."

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.—The members of the London Committees of this Association were, on Friday evening last, entertained by Mr. and Mrs. George Hanbury, at their residence, 21, Portman-square. There was a very large attendance. The proceedings were commenced with devotional exercises, the Rev. Mr. Hopkins (Portman Chapel) leading in prayer. Mr. George Hanbury delivered an opening address, in the course of which he expressed his deep sympathy for the difficulties and temptations to which the young men in this great London were exposed, and he called upon all present to lift up their hearts to God for a blessing on the association, and on the present meeting. The first of a series of practical addresses was delivered by the Rev. J. C. Kyle, his subject being, "The importance of fidelity to great principles." Most earnestly did he exhort the young men to avoid the fashionable evil of holding loosely by the truth, and to take firm grasp of great principles—the anchor by which alone they could hold fast, instead of being tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine, the helpless victims of impudence—one of the great powers of the present day. Mr. Kyle's address was followed by one from the Rev. Dr. Edmond, on "Safety under Temptation." Captain Trotter afterwards spoke on the portion of Acts vi. narrating the setting apart of the seven deacons, dwelling more particularly on points in the career of Stephen and Philip, and applying practically the great truth that, as in them so now, the source of spiritual power and usefulness was being "filled with the Holy Ghost." Mr. G. Williams and Mr. Morley having, on behalf of the young men, thanked their host and hostess for the entertainment of the evening, Mr. Hanbury responded in very cordial terms, and took occasion to express a hope that the members of the association would increasingly engage in the work of ragged-school teaching. The proceedings were closed with prayer and the benediction by the Rev. E. Auriol.

ENGLISH MONTHLY TRACT SOCIETY.—The annual meeting of this society was held at Freemasons' Hall, on Friday evening, March 13th. There was a large attendance of friends and subscribers. After singing a hymn, the sixty-seventh psalm was read, and prayer offered by the Rev. B. Beddow. The Right Hon. Lord Ebury, who presided, then addressed the meeting. He said the design of the society was to bring the truths of God's word before the minds of the upper classes, and he approved the means they employed for this purpose. The higher classes had peculiar temptations and dangers consequent on their position. There were difficulties in obtaining access to the upper classes of society which were overcome by the means adopted by this society, viz., by sending the tracts through the post. He was glad to know that the society's tracts were widely circulated among the higher classes of society. He had called that morning on a nobleman of the highest rank, when he mentioned that he was going to preside at the meeting, who said to him, "I have known the society for a considerable time, and receive its tracts, and I believe it is doing much good." He believed so himself, and the success which had attended its efforts should encourage them to proceed. No one would go forth in God's name, and with God's word, and his labour be wholly in vain. His lordship then referred to the extraordinary religious movement in Paris during last year, and the active part this society had taken in the distribution of tracts on that occasion. The secretary then read the report, which gave some interesting details of the work of the society during the past year, especially in reference to the work in Paris. Of the little tract, entitled, "Not Happy, why not?" 869,175, in four languages, had been given away at the Great Exhibition; tracts on Ritualism, Rationalism, and the great sacrifice, suitable for the present time had been circulated, and an address to ministers of the Gospel had been printed and sent to ministers in the metropolis, and some other parts of the kingdom. The society's tracts had also been widely circulated in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and in the British colonies. The Belgian volunteers had received them on their visit to London, and a grant had been made to our soldiers employed in the Abyssinian expedition. The receipts for the past year were £2,759, but the extraordinary efforts in which the society had been engaged during the past year had resulted in a debt

due to the treasurer of £200. Dr. Davis, secretary of the Religious Tract Society, moved the adoption of the report, and expressed his pleasure on being present on that occasion to testify his approval of the society. It was a genuine society, with a real committee, active officers, and the funds were well expended. The object aimed at by the original Religious Tract Society was to spread the Gospel among the masses of the people; this society sought to occupy a more limited, but not a less important sphere of usefulness. The Rev. J. H. Wilson, secretary of the Home Mission Society, dwelt at some length on the importance of the society's work and the success which had attended it. He was happy to be able to state that many of the noble and wealthy of our countrymen were not only in possession of the grace of God but were also preaching the Gospel, and others were more privately endeavouring to spread the knowledge of Divine truth. The Rev. S. Bird moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was seconded by the Rev. J. A. Davis. Lord Ebury acknowledging the vote said that he could confirm what had been said about the endeavours of many in the higher ranks to spread the knowledge of Divine truth. Ladies of rank were engaged in visiting workhouses, hospitals, and asylums, and in reading the word of God to the inmates, and many of them also were very active tract distributors. The Rev. J. Redford closed the meeting with prayer.

Correspondence.

THE REV. DR. LANDELS AND THE REGENT'S PARK MEETING.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The few remarks I made at the meeting of the Liberation Society, in the schoolroom of Regent's Park Chapel, require to be considered in connection with the occasion of their utterance in order that their relevancy or irrelevancy may be rightly estimated.

A previous speaker had called on Nonconformists to cease from their agitation against the Establishment, and to unite with their brethren in the Church in loyalty to Christ and efforts for the extension of His kingdom. My remarks were meant to show—

First, that our loyalty to Christ rendered our union with the Parliamentary Church impossible, owing to that Church legally embracing in its membership all classes of the community without respect to their Christian life, and having for its rulers the members of the legislature, among whom are those who make no pretensions to Christianity, in the proper sense of the word. Loyalty to Christ forbids the union of Christians in church fellowship with such men. His law in reference to them is, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate."

Secondly, that while we are ready to unite with Christians in the Establishment in any Christian effort, they are prohibited by their connection with the State Church from uniting with us in those things in which our union with them is consistent with our loyalty to Christ. The cases I quoted were in illustration of this. It is very true, as "A London Clergyman" remarks, that any Free Church might pass a law excluding the ministers of other denominations from her pulpits. But it is no less true that those members or ministers who allowed such a law to contravene their desire for union, and so interfere with the action of what they believe to be Christ's law, would be guilty of the sin of schism. But the state of our brethren in the Establishment is worse even than this. In many things they cannot unite with us as they desire because the State, their lawgiver, forbids. They know that Christ desires the union of His people; they profess to regard us as brethren with whom it is desirable to be united. But here a power which is not ecclesiastical nor Christian in any sense, steps in and says, "Ye shall not unite with them in such and such things, albeit ye believe in their Christianity; and ye shall unite in Church fellowship with those whom ye believe to be no Christians." And I contend that in obeying that mandate of the State, and allowing a power which is not ecclesiastical nor yet Christian to come between them and what they confess to be the will of Christ—an earthly power to control the Church which is Christ's bride—they are guilty, not only of creating "schism in the body," but of what many deem the worse sin, of spiritual "fornication."

Such was my position, taken, be it observed, in reply to the call of a previous speaker. The aptness or inaptness of the case referred to in illustration, does not in the least affect the principle involved. That case occurred to me at the time, and I mentioned it hastily in passing, thinking it in point inasmuch as the clergyman had said that they were under the same law there as at home. It at least shows that there are obstacles in the Church to the union which our friend was so earnestly calling for. Whether it proves anything else or not is really not worth considering. It is needless to dispute about a particular case in view of the notorious fact that no clergyman can ask a Nonconformist brother, however highly esteemed, to officiate in his State-Church pulpit. While that camel is swallowed, "A London Clergyman" will not gain much by straining at a gnat.

I am, yours truly,

W. LANDELS,

Regent's Park, March 17, 1868.

THE IRISH WESLEYAN METHODISTS AND THE IRISH CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The information, if it may be called so, which the public have received as to the attitude of the Wesleyan Methodists in Ireland towards the Established Church, has been almost wholly supplied by Church journals, and that mainly in their notices of the presence of members of that unestablished (not to say Dissenting) body at meetings of the "Protestant Defence Association." In these circumstances it is worth while calling attention to the position taken up by their representative paper, the *Irish Evangelist*, in its number for this month. It contains three communications on the Church question:—a leader by the editor (Dr. William Crook), an article from the pen of a prominent minister, and a letter from a leading layman. Passing over the two latter, I take the following extract from the article on the "The Protestant Defence Association," and its meeting in Dublin in February.

"If the disendowment of the Established Church in Ireland would involve the destruction of Protestantism in Ireland, or the weakening of it, or tend to lessen the influence of British rule in Ireland, all sections of Protestant Nonconformists would rally round the Church of Ireland, and maintain its present position and emoluments at any price. The Earl of Bandon, and the ministers of the Establishment in Ireland profess to believe, that the disendowment of their section of the Church by the State, and the collapse of Protestantism in Ireland, mean the same thing, and hence they call their association for the defence of the present emoluments of the system 'The Protestant Defence Association'; and all the speakers quietly assume that any change in the status of their section of the Church in Ireland involves the ruin of the Protestant interest in Ireland. But what intelligent Nonconformist in Ireland believes this? On the contrary, is there not a deep and growing conviction in Methodism, and in Presbyterianism also, that the cause of Protestantism would be far stronger in Ireland to-day if Protestantism had trusted to the voluntary principle, as in the United States, and had never been endowed by the State? And is there not a growing conviction, too, that the narrow exclusiveness and intolerance of the State-Church, together with the assumption of Apostolical succession, which are the weakness and disgrace of Protestantism in Ireland, would be cured in the most simple and effective way by the disendowment of all parties in Ireland, and the placing of Protestantism on a common level? And would not a united Protestantism in Ireland be worth the sacrifice involved in the surrender of the *prestige* and emoluments of the State Church? Besides, are not those churches within the Establishment which are 'free'—that is, on the voluntary principle—the most popular and successful in the system? And what does this fact say in relation to the emancipation of the system as a whole? Methodism has never assumed the aggressive against the Establishment in Ireland, but has patiently borne with much with which it is questionable whether she ought to have borne. We have not raised the present question; but when the Earl of Bandon tells us, 'that if the spirit of Wesley could look down on his followers in the present day, knowing what we are now doing, he would, I feel, tell them that they should join with us—that separated from us there is a common danger, in union a common strength,' we beg leave to say that we believe that Wesley would give them no such advice; but that, on the contrary, he would recommend them to refrain from all political associations, recollecting that Christ said, 'My kingdom is not of this world'; and that if compelled to meddle with such questions, they would act as the Lord's freemen, not consulting the supposed interests of a section of the Church, but the interests of our common Protestantism in Ireland."

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

J. M.

Glasgow, March 16, 1868.

PREACHING.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—The practical importance of the subject is my only excuse for resuming a pen which I would gladly resign to an abler hand. I am but anxious to disavow any spirit of unkindly criticism, and to assure "A Young Minister," and his brethren, that it is a feeling of strong and warm sympathy with them, which animates my "voice from a pew."

It goes without saying, as our neighbours say, that there are preachers, not a few, beyond such criticism as mine, and I suppose there are times for every true servant of Christ, even among the least gifted, when he rises to that higher level which is above all criticism. When heart speaks to heart, speech becomes the mere garment of thought—then, even ill-chosen expressions, raised to the height of the thought they clothe, have little power to drag it downward. But, alas for our imperfect nature, when at short intervals, whatever be his own condition of spiritual life, our "one man" must fill the pulpit, though he have not of that divine food which satisfies human hearts! It is at such times that a carefully cultivated taste will help a man who is strong and earnest at heart, though weak for an hour—supplying to him what a woman's instinct dowers her with. To get this, a tolerant and indulgent attention to the impressions of listeners must be invaluable help.

The intention of my former suggestions was not, indeed, to substitute the "we" for "I." Is it more humble?—certainly not. I cannot improve upon question or answer. The thing I deprecate, is the form of sentence, which so often requires either pronoun. Great truths should not be stated so much as "my" opinion, "yours," "ours," or "theirs,"—but as great truths before which we all take the attitude of learners. The "we" of the pulpit should be that which pleases

teacher and taught on one humble level in a Greater and Holier Presence.

The cognate subjects are so large and manifold, that it is difficult to refrain from branching off into one or more—thus an observation which applies to preaching properly so called, would be inappropriately applied to exposition, or to that useful form of modern preaching—the lecture. From misapprehension on this point, I ought to have guarded in my first letter.

I once heard a good Christian man—a Nonconformist—describe the impression made upon him by listening once to the sermon of a Roman Catholic priest. "He spoke," he said, "as if he felt backed up by the Pope, Cardinals, and all the Papal hierarchy." So may the voices of our pulpits speak to us—as if they felt the power behind them—speaking for the Master, to the Master's people—in the presence of our Great Head Himself, and of His cloud of witnesses, our greater Hierarchy.

Yours truly,
ANOTHER VOICE, &c.

APPRENTICESHIP SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Many of your readers are subscribers of the "Apprenticeship Society," whose half-yearly election is announced in another column of your paper, and who will doubtless feel great pleasure in the perusal of the following letter, recently received from a most respectable and excellent bookseller in the west of England, to whom the Society made one of its earliest grants.

As the letter will show the friends and supporters of the Society, what important service it renders to the children of our ministers, at an important period of life, and how its advantages, in the present instance, have been appreciated and acknowledged, you will oblige the committee by making room for this communication:—

"Dear Sir,—You may not be aware that my mother, as the widow of a minister, received the sum of 20*l.* from the Apprenticeship Society towards my apprenticeship.

"I have always hoped to be able to repay that amount to the Society, and I am glad to be able to tell you, that it is now in my power to forward you the sum of 20*l.*, as a donation, and a further sum of 10 guineas, which I see by the rules you kindly sent me, constitutes me a Life Governor. I have already given my name to Miss P—, as a subscriber of one guinea per annum.

"It has long been my habit to set apart the 'Lord's portion' of all incomings, and it has been a matter of regret, that with the multitude of claims continually presenting themselves, I could not see my way to meet this one earlier.

"I remember that at the time the grant was made my mother felt it to be a great help to her, and this letter will show you how I appreciate it, and may serve to encourage the committee in their service for God. One of your committee, at least, will know the circumstances under which my mother was left a widow in 1831. The six children are still living, and our history as a family since the death of our father is a proof that God does not forget the widow and the fatherless.

"I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

I may just add that while the society was never more prosperous and useful than at the present time, as the committee are exceedingly anxious to increase its income so as to enable them to meet the many applications for aid, waiting to be adopted, they will be thankful to receive any additions to their subscription list—an annual subscription of five shillings giving as many votes at each election as there are candidates to be admitted.

Yours truly,

I. VALB MUMMERY.

Victoria-park-road, March 16, 1868.

THE TEACHING IN RATE-AIDED SCHOOLS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—I have had the curiosity to examine a book used in the school of the pauper children of the Chelmsford Union-house. Under the head of the Eighth Commandment, page 66, I find the question, "Is it dishonest to avoid paying lawful taxes, tithes, or rates?" The answer is simply "Yes." Then follow some passages of Scripture supposed to confirm the lesson. The book is entitled, "Christian Instruction founded on the Catechism of the Church of England. By the Rev. W. Dalton, B.D., Prebendary of Lichfield. Hamilton, Adams, and Co."

I wonder whether this instruction in a rate-aided and compulsory school is a specimen of what may be expected in the future, and I should like to know whether the paupers throughout the country are taught that Church-rates in common with other rates have such terrible sanctions. No wonder Church-rates die hard if they draw vitality from the Eighth Commandment.

I am, &c.,

A. B.

ARTISAN REPRESENTATIVES.—Ten thousand working men of Birmingham are proposing to subscribe a shilling each to send a working men's representative to Parliament. They propose paying the member 300*l.* yearly salary, and his election expenses, estimated at 200*l.*

CAMBRIDGE HONOURS.—The Classical Tripos List published in the Senate this morning, contains in the first-class the names of three gentlemen connected with families well-known amongst Dissenters—Mr. Edward Lewis, Mr. Charles Edward Baines Reed, and Mr. Charles I. Tarring. The class contains only eighteen names.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Friday there was a lively debate on the subject of the ratepaying clauses of the Reform Act and Mr. Disraeli's letter. The Duke of ARGYLL opened the discussion, by asking what the Government intended to do to ameliorate the hardships which the ratepaying clauses had produced. His grace went on to speak of Mr. Disraeli's letter, and contended that it was a direct attempt to evade the real accusation made against the writer. The LORD CHANCELLOR replied, and told the Duke that for the rating he had given Mr. Disraeli he would have received a severe rating in return if Mr. Disraeli had had a seat in that House. He defended Mr. Disraeli, and then said the Government had acceded to Mr. Ayrton's committee in order that an inquiry might take place into the whole subject of rating to the poor. EARL RUSSELL told the Lord Chancellor that he had argued as he had been accustomed to argue as a Chancery barrister, and then went on to demolish Mr. Disraeli by a quotation from his own speech at Edinburgh. His lordship denounced the political tergiversation of which the Premier had been guilty. LORD MALMESBURY weakly replied, and, after two or three other speeches, the matter dropped.

On Monday the Duke of MARLBOROUGH gave notice that on the 24th inst. he should bring in a bill in reference to elementary education in England and Wales. The House soon after adjourned.

On Tuesday the Earl of STANHOPE gave notice that on the 26th inst. he would move for a select committee to inquire into the operation of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. In reply to Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY, his lordship said that the Irish Church Commission had already collected a great deal of evidence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On Friday, in answer to Mr. Crawford, the LORD ADVOCATE said it was the intention of the Government to introduce a bill relating to education during the present session.

In reply to Colonel KNOX, the Earl of MAYO explained that Mr. Johnston, who had been sentenced to two months' imprisonment for a breach of the Party Processions Act, had declined to enter into the necessary recognizances, and had not therefore been released from prison.

THE STATE OF IRELAND.

The adjourned debate on Ireland in the House of Commons was begun by Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE. His speech was thoroughly moderate. He insisted that some remedy must be found for the evils in Ireland, and the Government had no such remedy to propose. The land bill of which they spoke was insufficient; the proposal for a charter for the Roman Catholic University unnecessary; and as to the Church, they proposed nothing. It was impossible that this last and greatest scandal could be allowed to remain. This question, he maintained, lay at the root of Irish grievances, and the vast benefits which would result from removing it had never been sufficiently appreciated. Above all, it would break down the wall of separation between landlord and tenant, and would probably aid materially in the settlement of the land difficulty. But the policy of the Government was little more than begging time to work themselves up to the old Appropriation Clause. The Church was an institution maintained in one country by the external force of another, and its abolition had passed far beyond inquiry. He defended the Liberal party and Mr. Gladstone for not having dealt with the grievance when they were in power, observing that these settlements were questions of times and seasons, of opportunities and possibilities. It was now possible to settle this question, and therefore it became obligatory.

Sir J. M'KENNA thought that something valuable might be done on the land question out of the two bills of Mr. Fortescue and Lord Mayo; and this was more important than the Church question, which would be inevitably settled by the reformed Parliament. He cordially approved the proposal to charter a new Catholic University.

The O'DONOGHUE dilated on the disaffection of Ireland, which he attributed to the misrule of the British Government and the apathy of Parliament. Religious equality and security of tenure were the two great remedies urgently required; but the Irish people never would be satisfied without the complete control of their own affairs.

LORD C. HAMILTON replied to the O'Donoghue, who had, he asserted, no right to represent anybody's opinions but his own; and to statements of Mr. Maguire and Mr. Horsman, maintaining that the Protestants were not responsible for the penal laws, which were passed two centuries before the Reformation, and charging the obstruction to Irish progress on agitators who preferred to set class against class rather than to help on the prosperity of their country.

Mr. HERBERT denied that the farmers of the south sympathised with Fenianism, and, to show that the country was not going back, he alleged that rents were never better paid, and labourers in his district were earning 14*s.* a week wages with their food. As a Protestant he was ready to support the immediate disestablishment of the Church.

Mr. NEWDEGATE exhorted the House to proclaim clearly that neither by agitation nor by rebellion

would it be terrified into legislation dangerous to the empire at large. He charged the Jesuits, moved by their hatred to all Protestant Governments, with stimulating the Fenian conspiracy, and he solemnly denounced the contemplated University in the interests of the Roman Catholic laity, on whom it would impose an intolerable tyranny.

Mr. BRIGHT drew from the co-existence in Ireland of material prosperity with extensive disloyalty that the condition of that country was the most urgent imperial question of the day. For that unhappy condition there must be a cause, and that cause was well known to the Government, particularly to the Premier, and was shown by his celebrated phrase, "an absentee aristocracy and an alien Church." Dealing with the first of these two causes, he examined minutely the provisions of Lord Mayo's bill, which he contended would never work, and he preferred his own plan for the encouragement of a farmer proprietary, which he explained at length. If it were right to lend money to tenants for improvements, as Lord Mayo proposed, why not lend money to tenants to buy land? Protesting that he had no desire to interfere with the rights of property—for he would not apply his plan except where landowners were willing to sell—he showed that, without paying more annually than his present rent, a tenant in a little over thirty years might become the owner of his farm. His object was to create in Ireland some few score thousands of a steady class between the large landowners and the landless—a class which would be thoroughly loyal and would be the zealous enemy of Fenianism. He admitted that the time would never come when Mr. Mill's remedy would be necessary for Ireland, but he held that in every country where there was no class but landlord and tenant, with no manufactures to absorb the population, the condition of the cultivator of the soil must inevitably be degraded. On the University question, Mr. Bright described the Ministerial proposal to add another buttress in the shape of a bribe as "grotesque and imbecile." The establishment of a Catholic University could have no effect on Fenianism; it had been received with general disfavour; and, like the dual vote of last year, when it had served its object it would probably disappear.

I recollect that Addison, a good while ago now, writing about the curious things that happened in his time, said there was a man in his county—I do not know whether it was in Buckinghamshire or not—(a laugh)—he was not a Cabinet Minister, at all events, he was only a mountebank—(great laughter)—but this man set up a stall, and to the country people he offered to sell pills that were very good against the earthquake. (Laughter.) Well, that is about the state of things we are in now. (Renewed laughter.) There is an earthquake in Ireland. Does anybody doubt it? I won't go into all the evidence of it, but there has been a most extraordinary alarm, some of it extravagant, I will admit, throughout the three kingdoms, and although Fenianism be only a low and reckless conspiracy, if you will, when the noble lord, acknowledging the existence of discontent and dissatisfaction, comes forward and asks the assembled Imperial Parliament to discuss this great question—this great and political earthquake in which Ireland is heaving—the right hon. gentleman comes forward and offers to endow the Catholic University for the benefit of the sons of Irish gentlemen. I have never heard in this House a more unsatisfactory proposal—(Hear, hear.)—and I believe the entire displeasure with which it has been received is only a proper representation of the condemnation which it will receive from the great majorities of the people in the three kingdoms.

But whether Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Gladstone sat on the Treasury, or even whether the two were united, which was a very bold figure of speech (laughter)—this fact remained, and would remain, unaltered, that Protestant supremacy as represented by a State Church in Ireland was doomed. (Hear, hear.) Earl Russell's proposal in his late pamphlet should have been given to the world forty years ago. As it was, he contended that the time had gone by for new State Churches; they would never be an institution of growth in this country, and he suspected there was not another country in the world not having them which would wish to establish them. Adverting to his own plan, Mr. Bright said:—

There have been great objections to my plan, and among those who have objected, as might possibly have been expected, are gentlemen of the Liberation Society. I know many of the members of that society, and they are very good men. Many of those who may think they are mistaken if they knew them would join with me in that opinion. One of them, at least was a member of this House, and will in all probability be here again—Mr. Miall, not only a good, but a great man; I judge him by the nobleness of his principles, and the grand devotion which he has manifested to the teaching of what he believes to be a great truth. I take the criticisms from them kindly, as we ought all to take them from our friends when they are honestly given. But what is the difficulty of Ireland at this moment with which you have to deal? You have a Church you propose to disestablish, you have a *Regium Donum* which, if the Church is disestablished, must necessarily be withdrawn, and you have, if these two things happen, a grant to Maynooth which must be cancelled. Now, in doing these things, the House will observe that we shall disturb all the three principal sects, or churches, in Ireland, and we can only do it, or attempt to do it, on the principle that we are about to accomplish some great public good. Well, my proposition, which some hon. gentlemen, I dare say, will have some vague idea of, was made with a view of easing Parliament in a great transaction, which I believe it cannot escape. It is a great thing in statesmanship when you are to make a change which is unavoidable, and which shocks and disturbs more, and increases the doubt of the hesitating, if you can make the past slide into the future without any great shock to the feelings

of the public. In doing these things Government can always afford to be generous and gracious to those whom it is obliged to disturb. Any gentleman will recollect that when the Tithe Commutation Act for Ireland passed there was a certain concession made to the landowners of Ireland to induce them to acquiesce in the measure. When slavery was abolished there was a considerable sum of money voted on the motion of Lord Derby in this House to compensate the slaveholders. If it had not been done slavery would have been abolished before long by violence. Parliament thought it would be better to take the step he did; and I am not for a moment going to discuss its wisdom at this time. Therefore, if forced to make this change, we should make it in such a manner as to obtain the acquiescence, if not the support, of those who are most likely to be affected by it. Suppose, if we were going to disestablish the Church of England or of Scotland—and I understand there are a great number of the clergy of the Church of Scotland who think it would greatly benefit their Church if it were disestablished (Hear, hear)—some would for a moment suppose that, after having taken all the tithe and all the income from the land, we should also take all the churches and parsonage houses from the Church in Scotland, or the Episcopalian Church in England. You would not do anything of the kind. You would do what you had to do fully for the good of the country, but would do it in such a manner as would do least harm, and as would gain the largest amount of acquiescence from those whom you were about to affect. And that is what we should do for Ireland. I am very fair to speak on this matter; I am not Catholic in the sense of Rome, I am not Protestant in the sense it is used in Ireland, I am not Presbyterian as the term is understood in Ireland or Scotland; I am not connected with a powerful sect in England; I think I stand, from my training, education, and associations, in a position which enables me, on questions of this nature, to take as fair and as unimpassioned a view as any member in this House. (Hear, hear.) At least, if I were asked to give my advice—and if I am not I think I shall give it (laughter)—I should propose that where there are congregations in Ireland, speaking now of the Established Church, who would undertake to keep in repair the church in which they have been accustomed to worship and the parsonage house in which their minister lived, that Parliament should leave them in possession of their church and of their parsonage house; and I believe that I speak the sentiments of every Catholic member on this side of the House and probably of every intelligent Catholic in Ireland, not only of the laity, but of the hierarchy and the priesthood, when I say that they would regard such a course as that on the part of the Parliament as just under the circumstances in which we are placed. Then, of course, there would be no more Protestant bishops made by the Crown, and that institution in Ireland would come to an end, except it was continued on the same principle as the bishops of the Episcopal Church are appointed in Scotland. All State connections, however, would, of course, be abolished, and you would then have all sects on an equality; the Protestants would have their churches and parsonage houses as they have now, but the repairs of them and the stipends of their ministers would be contributed by their congregations, or by such organisations as they chose to decide on. No greater instance of generosity has been seen in the world than that which has been manifested by the Catholic people of Ireland; and they would retain what they have with such meritorious generosity provided for themselves. They have their churches, their priests' houses, and in many places their glebes, all of which would be theirs still, and there would be no pretence for meddling with them. In the North of Ireland, where the Presbyterians are more numerous, they would have their places of worship and their ministers' houses as they have now. In that respect, therefore, the Churches would be all on an equality. The real touching point of this question, which will, in all probability, create much feeling in Parliament and the country, is—what should be done with respect to the Maynooth grant and the *Regium Donum*? They must be treated alike, I presume. If you preserve the life interest of the ministers and bishops of the Established Church after it is disestablished, it may be right to preserve the life interest of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church; and it may be right also in some way to make provision that shall not in the least degree bring it under the control of the State for the Catholic Church in Ireland in lieu of the Maynooth grant, which you would of course be obliged to withdraw. I mention these things to indicate to the country what are some of the difficulties of this question—difficulties which must be met, and which it will require all the moderation, all the Christian feeling, and all the patriotism which the House can muster, on both sides, to settle permanently to the general satisfaction of the three kingdoms. In opposition to the proposals of Earl Russell, which, I think, contain a fatal error, I go further, and say that, whatever is done, if a single sixpence is given by Parliament in lieu of the Maynooth grant or the *Regium Donum*, it must be given on these terms only, that it becomes the absolute property, whether of the Catholics, of the Episcopalians, or of the Presbyterians, and that it must be as sacredly their property as the Sustentation Fund is the property of the Free Church of Scotland, and the chapels and schools of the Independents and Wesleyans are their property. It must be property which Parliament can never pretend to control, or regulate, or withdraw; and, having consented to that condition, then the three Churches of Ireland must be supported as voluntary churches. He had nothing to say against the character of the Protestant clergy in Ireland, but he believed that when they were unendowed, they would breathe more freely, and become more useful. He would recommend that State-Church supremacy being abolished, and the Irish Churches having been made free Churches, that every reasonable concession should be made. He would counsel to all men moderation and justice. It was as necessary to Protestants as to Catholics and to Nonconformists that they should endeavour to get rid of passion in discussing this question. Mr. Bright concluded by saying:—

We are after all, I believe, of one religion. I imagine that there will come a time in the history of the world when men will be astonished that Catholics and Protestants have had animosity and suspicion amongst each

other. I accept the belief in a very grand passage, which I once met with in the writings of the illustrious founder of the colony of Pennsylvania. He says that

"The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious, and devout souls are everywhere of one religion, and when death has taken off the mask they will know one another, though the diverse liveries they wear here make them strangers." (Cheers.) Now, may I ask the House to act in this spirit, and then our work will be easy. The noble lord, towards the conclusion of his speech, spoke of the cloud which is at present over Ireland. It is a dark and heavy cloud, and its darkness extends over the feelings of men in all parts of the British empire. But there is a consolation which we may all take to ourselves. An inspired king and bard and prophet has left us words which are not only the expression of a fact, but which we may take as the utterance of a prophecy. He says—"To the upright there ariseth light in the darkness." Let us try in this matter to be upright. Let us try to be just. That cloud will be dispelled. The dangers which we see will vanish, and we may have the happiness perhaps of leaving to our children the heritage of honourable citizenship in a united and prosperous empire. (Great cheers.)

Sir S. NORTHGOTE, summing up, or taking stock, as he said, of the debate, was of opinion that it would put the House in a better position to deal with the Irish question. For instance, the real character of Fenianism could be more justly appreciated, and the delusion that Ireland had not her fair share in the councils of the empire was dispelled. The problem before Parliament was, no doubt, a difficult one, but the first thing to do with the disease which might be said to be on the nerves was to give hope and comfort, and not to disturb any healing process which was going on. He claimed for the Irish Government, not limiting it to the present Administration, that it had administered Ireland with impartial justice, and the conviction of this must in time come home to all classes. He defended the Land Bill which Lord Mayo would introduce, expressing a strong conviction that the landlords of Ireland would not object to a restriction of their rights if it could be shown that the public interest required it. But it was not intended that this bill should necessarily be the be all and end all of the Government policy, and for that reason, and not for delay, the Government had appointed a commission of inquiry. As to the Church, Sir Stafford said that if he believed its maintenance to be unjust he would consent to sweep it away immediately, but he was unable to see that it was, except on a principle which would be destructive of all establishments. They would require a very large measure when they propose so to deal with the principle of Church Establishment. There was a spirit that pervaded the minds of many that in carrying out the views of those who demand religious equality they are going for a system of religious indifference, and against that they are obliged to raise their voice. The property of the Church was not national property, but the private property of the Church; and though the State might have a right to inquire how the Church was using the property, to deprive her of it without a violent necessity proved would be a breach of statesmanship. Ireland required a healing policy, and confiscation would be unjust and irritating.

The debate was adjourned to Monday, and the House adjourned at twelve o'clock.

On Monday Sir P. G. EGERTON brought up the report of the Coventry election committee, declaring Mr. H. M. Jackson not to have been duly elected, and further declaring the election to have been a void election.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER intimated his intention of asking the Secretary for Foreign Affairs on an early day whether he did not think the time opportune for arriving at a mutual understanding with the United States Government respecting the Alabama claims.

A conversation took place with reference to speeches recently delivered by the Rev. Mr. Ferrars (Protestant) and Father Lavelle (Catholic). The speeches were alleged to have been seditious, but the Attorney-General had advised the Government not to prosecute.

In reply to a question, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that, according to the best information the Government could obtain, he had no reason to believe that the cost of the Abyssinian expedition, up to the present time, exceeded 3,500,000*l.*, the lower sum mentioned by Mr. Disraeli in November.

THE STATE OF IRELAND.

The adjourned debate on the condition of Ireland was commenced by

Mr. MONSELL, who admitted that the proposal to charter a Catholic University showed a feeling of respect for the Roman Catholics of Ireland which called for gratitude, though he personally preferred that Dublin University should be thrown open to all religions. But he intimated his readiness to accept this project if it should be favourably received in Ireland. There could be no peace in Ireland until the Irish Church was abolished. Mr. BUTLER-JOHNSTONE (Conservative) was of opinion that on the land question the Government had gone pretty nearly as far as could be expected, but expressed thorough disappointment with the rest of their policy. A futile attempt was made to conciliate Ultramontaniam, while the hated "ascendancy" was left untouched. The Irish problem never could be solved without dealing with the Irish Church, and for the future he promised to follow any leader on either side who would boldly face this difficulty. Mr. GREGORY touched upon the various questions affecting Ireland, and rather supported the scheme of a Catholic University. But at the bottom of all Irish difficulties lay the State Church, and, speaking as a Protestant, he recom-

mended Mr. Bright's scheme to the consideration of Protestants. Personally he was in favour of the endowment of the three denominations in Ireland; but he acknowledged that public opinion was against endowments. He exhorted the enemies of the Church to be content with disestablishment, and avowed his wish that the question should be deferred until the new Parliament, which would deal with it on a larger basis. Among other remedies he suggested direct diplomatic relations with the Pope, moderate loans of public money for improvements, and an improved administration of railways. Mr. CONOLLY said that Irish Protestants were not indisposed to a calm and just settlement of the Church question.

As Mr. Conolly sat down more than a score members sprang up in all parts of the House, to continue the debate, but chiefly on the Liberal benches, and the SPEAKER called on Mr. W. H. GLADSTONE, who made a very successful maiden speech, in which he advocated religious equality, and the disestablishment of the Irish Church. On the question of education, though he should have preferred a fusing of all educational establishments into one University, he did not disapprove the plan of the Government to charter a Catholic University. Lord CASTLEROSSE complained of the timidity of the Government in not dealing with the Church. He expressed a strong opinion in favour of a measure for compensation to tenants, and predicted that Parliament would not consent to the plan of a Catholic University.

The discussion was continued on the same side by Mr. DE LA POER and Mr. SYNAN; by Colonel BRUEN, who argued against the establishment of fixity of tenure by law, and approved the endowment of a Catholic University; and by Mr. KENDALL, who justified the course of the Government on the three points—Land, Church, and Education.

Mr. GLADSTONE, who rose just before ten o'clock, and was loudly cheered by the Opposition, pointed out that, numerous as had been the blots hit in the Ministerial programme, their greatest error of all was that they had failed to realise the grave fact that we had reached a crisis in the Irish question. Ireland had an account with this country which had endured for centuries, and in the opinion of every enlightened nation in the world, much as we had done, we had not done enough to place ourselves in the right. The most recent proof of this failure of the Government to grasp the gravity of the occasion was Sir Stafford Northcote's speech, for the impartiality of the Executive Government, to which he trusted, was not sufficient to counterbalance the injurious effect of unjust laws. Time, his second palliative, had been tried some centuries; and of the third—justice—he remarked that Sir Stafford's idea of it included the maintenance of the Established Church. Admitting that Lord Mayo's account of the state of Ireland was, on the whole, accurate, he argued that the co-existence of material progress with widespread discontent was a proof that some unsatisfied necessity still existed, and in enforcing the gravity of the political crisis he pointed to the depletion of Ireland by emigration, the repeated suspension of the Habeas Corpus, and the invasion of England by Fenianism. Mr. Gladstone next discussed at length the adequacy of the Government policy to the exigencies of the case under six heads, viz.:—Parliamentary Reform, the Repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, Railways, Education, Land, and the Church. The first three he dismissed very briefly, and on the question of University education he remarked that the Roman Catholics had a real grievance. He defended the action of Lord Russell's Government in 1866 on this subject, and in discussing Lord Mayo's suggestion he insisted with much emphasis that Parliament had never voluntarily undertaken the support of denominational Universities and schools; but on the contrary, of late years it had been sedulously endeavouring to get rid of all votes of a purely denominational character. Mr. Disraeli must know as well as anyone that such a scheme as this could not be carried into effect; it was a mere notion, in fact, which in reality was dead before it had lived; and in the absence of any information as to the views of the Roman Catholic bishops it might be described as another "leap in the dark." (Hear, hear.) But it was impossible to give a final opinion on the University question until the view of Parliament on the Irish Church was ascertained, for if a sweeping policy were adopted it would be necessary to consider how far Trinity College could be made available. (Hear, hear.) The question of education ran up into the higher and still greater question of the Church. (Hear, hear.) On the land question Mr. Gladstone asserted that the real grievance of the Irish people had been acknowledged by the Devon Commission in 1845, which had recommended a measure of compensation for improvements.

That fact was brought again and again from the most authoritative and unsuspected sources under the notice of Parliament; bill after bill was produced, and bill after bill was rejected or evaded, and to this hour the account of the Irish nation with England in respect of the tenure of land remains an unsettled question. The only bill that was passed was that of my right hon. friend near me (Mr. Cardwell), in which an attempt was made, in terms the most restricted, to obtain some concession to the tenant on account of improvements to which the landlord was not an objecting party. That bill was as much as by any magic could be extracted at the time from the will of Parliament. That bill remains a dead letter, and the whole subject remains for us to face with the painful recollection that for twenty-four or twenty-five years the Irish people in their little plots and farms have thus been conducting the daily battle of life without the shelter which the Devon Commission, and the Peel Government, and the Derby

Government, and every other administration declared ought to be vouchsafed to them—(Hear, hear); and we have to make the sad confession of our impotence to discharge a primary debt of justice to that country. (Hear.)

The land transferred under the Encumbered Estates Act is said to amount to one-fifth of the cultivated land in Ireland, but in these cases, involving property to the value of thirty-six millions, the improvements of the tenants, for which they had received no value, were bought by the incoming landlord—bought over the tenant's head. (Hear, hear.) Thus a beneficial measure, had worked serious but indirect injustice. In many cases the position and discontent of the tenants had been aggravated. Though things worked pretty well in England, Mr. Gladstone did not admit that the law of England was a standard either for Ireland or England herself. It was a bad law. (Hear, hear.) The just and true law should be that in the absence of covenant, if the landlord thought fit to make over to another party the whole business of cultivating the soil, the improvements effected by the tenant in the course of that cultivation should be the property of the tenant. (Cheers.) But he did not see his way to fixity of tenure, or to Mr. Mill's proposal, or to Mr. Bright's suggestion, which involved the difficulty of giving to the State the functions of a landed proprietor. If, however, the Irish ecclesiastical estates should come into the hands of the civil power, opportunity would be afforded, if it should seem wise and politic to do so, to give a fair consideration to Mr. Bright's proposal. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Perhaps it would be said that he was begging the question with regard to Church property. Well, he would now come to the question of the Established Church of Ireland. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone congratulated the House on the extraordinary advance of public opinion in and out of that House, as shown, perhaps, more forcibly in the defence of the Church than in the attack. Sir S. Northcote agreed that if the Irish Church should be removed, the English Establishment would be endangered.

I will only say that in my opinion those who wish to preserve the Church of England in the position of dignity, stability, and of utility which she now holds, will do well to found her claims upon the labours she performs, upon the services she renders, and upon the affection she attracts from the masses of the people, including that vast number within her communion, and the no small number of those who are beyond her pale, and that those will not do wisely who venture her fortunes on such a crazy argument, if I may use such an expression as that, which applies to the Established Church of Ireland, with its handful of adherents, applies with equal force to the Church of England, with its million upon millions of supporters. (Loud cheers.)

The policy of the Government on this question was not, as Mr. Horsman said "a policy of inaction." Far from it. Denominational universities were to be endowed, the *Regium Donum* increased, and the colleges sustained; and this burden upon burdens was to be cast upon the people of this country in order to enable them to continue to enjoy the blessing and the luxury of maintaining the Church Establishment in Ireland. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone proceeded to justify the course pursued of late years on the question by the Liberal party and himself, and said he thought that six months would have amply sufficed to enable the Irish Church Commission to have gathered the fullest information. To some the labours of such a Commission might be considered important, but superfluous to those who objected to the Irish Church, not for this or that particular quality, but on account of its essence and its existence. (Cheers.) In the debate of 1865 he said nothing contrary to the opinion he then held, and would now state, namely, that in the settlement of the Irish Church question, that Church, as a State Church, must cease to exist. (Loud cheers.) That institution is, and by the law of its existence must be, the home and the last refuge of the spirit of ascendancy. They must establish religious equality in Ireland.

I am not going to discuss the respective merits of "levelling up" or "levelling down," but "equality," understood in the sense of grants from the exchequer in order to bring the general population of Ireland up to the level of the Establishment, or understood in the sense of plans for dividing and redistributing the income and revenues of the Establishment in salaries and stipends to the clergy of the several communities. These are measures which, whether they would have been beneficial or not at other times, have now, in my opinion, passed beyond all bounds of possibility—(cheers)—and it is vain and idle for us, as practical men, charged with practical duties, to take them or to keep them in our midst. My opinion, then, is that religious equality is a phrase which requires further development, and I will develop it further by saying that in religious equality I, for my part, include in its fullest extent the word—the very grave word I do not deny, and I think we cannot be too careful to estimate its gravity before we take a conclusive step—the very grave word dis-establishment. (Hear, hear.) If we are, in my judgment, to do any good at all by meddling with the Church in Ireland, it must be by putting a period to its existence as a State Church. (Cheers.) No doubt it is a great and a formidable operation. To constitute into a body of Christians, united only by a voluntary tie, those who have now for nearly three centuries been associated more or less closely with the State—under the Tudors directly associated with the State, and by the Act of Union, seventy years ago, brought still more closely into relationship with the civil power—that is a great and a formidable task; yet my persuasion is that in removing privileges and re-trait together, in granting freedom in lieu of monopoly, a task will be proposed to us which is not beyond the courage and the statesman-ship of the British Legislature. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I entirely agree with the hon. member for Birmingham in what I understand to be the purport of his speech as to the mode of effecting this great end. We must, in my opinion, respect every vested interest (Hear, every

proprietary right, every legitimate claim, and in every case of doubt that may arise we must honestly endeavour to strike the balance in favour of the other party, and against ourselves. The operation is rude enough after all the mitigation we can possibly impart to it by the spirit in which we may approach it; but that operation, in order to achieve its great results, must be an operation which for Ireland shall finally and conclusively as far as we are concerned, set aside for ever all we hear of a salaried or stipendiary nature. (Hear, hear.) I hope I have stated with sufficient clearness (Hear) the general sense of the policy for which it appears to me the time has come. I have deliberately to vindicate abstention from previous agitation upon this question. When I was in office in 1865, and when I was out of office last year, I declined to vote with my hon. friend the member for Kilkenny, because I felt that giving such a vote might be construed into sending forth a pledge to the people of this country and to the people of Ireland which I was not prepared to redeem; but in the present state of Ireland, with its suspended liberties and its continuing evils assuming a subtler, but perhaps on that account, a more formidable form ("Hear," from Mr. Mill), and viewing that state of things which has grown up in this country in no small degree under the influence of the changes proposed and promoted by Her Majesty's present Administration, I recognise that the time has come when this question ought to be broached, and when it is broached it ought to be dealt with once for all. (Hear, hear.)

He recommended Mr. Maguire to withdraw his motion, but he intimated that unless Mr. Disraeli's speech differed altogether from the speeches of his colleagues, it would be the duty of the Opposition to ask a decided opinion from the House on this question.

The case is not yet complete, because we have not yet heard the declarations of the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Administration, and there have been times when these declarations have given a new colour to the debate. (Cheers and laughter.) But, unless the sentiments which we may hear from him should greatly vary—perhaps I ought to say unless they should altogether differ—from the sentiments which have been declared by my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for India, and by the other members of the Government who have spoken, I, for my part, cannot entertain a doubt that it will be the duty of those who differ from the Government to make a proposal and to ask the opinion of the House upon the question of the Irish Church. (Loud cheering.) But if such a proposal is made, two things I venture to add. In the first place, it ought to be plain, simple, intelligible in its terms. (Hear.) I suppose that any one who might make such a motion would justly disclaim the duty of submitting to Parliament a measure on the subject. That can only be dealt with by the Government. (Hear, hear.) But the principle and basis of that measure ought to be indicated so that the issue may be fairly raised. (Hear, hear.) But one thing I must add, and it is this. The declarations of Parliament with respect to the Irish Church Establishment will not now, perhaps, if they stand alone, command all the credit that they might have commanded in other times; for this is not the first time that Parliament has endeavoured to assert the principle that the property of the Established Church of Ireland should be dealt with. For several successive years this House adopted the Appropriation Clause, until at length, confessing its defeat, it desisted from attempts to pass it into law. If anything, therefore, is declared by the House on the subject of the Irish Church, we ought not to confine ourselves to words. It ought to be a declaration attended with some step or proceeding which will give to the people of this country, and which will give to the people of Ireland, conclusive proof that we have not entered hastily or lightly on a task of so much gravity, and that we mean what we say, and that, as far as depends upon us, the task will be performed. (Hear.) Sir, under these circumstances it seems to me clear that we ought not to go to issue with Her Majesty's Government on a motion like that which is now before the House. But when that motion has been disposed of our duty will not have passed away. (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, it will be coming more and more nearly into view. We remember the words, the earnest, touching words with which the noble earl closed his address, when he expressed a hope and uttered a call inciting the Irish people to union and to loyalty. Sir, that is our object too, but I am afraid that as to the means the differences are still profound, and it is idle, it is mocking, to use words unless we can sustain them by corresponding substance. (Hear.) That substance can be supplied only by the unreserved devotion of our efforts now in this, perhaps the last, stage of the Irish crisis to remove the scandal and the mischief which have so long weakened and afflicted the empire. For that work I trust strength will be given to us. If we are prudent men, I hope we shall endeavour as far as in us lies to make some provision for a contingent, a doubtful, and probably a dangerous future. If we be chivalrous men, I trust we shall endeavour to wipe away all those stains which the civilised world has for ages seen, or seemed to see, on the shield of England in her treatment of Ireland. If we be compassionate men, I hope we shall now, once for all, listen to the tale of woe which comes from her, and the reality of which, if not its justice, is testified by the continued emigration of her people, that we shall "raze out the written troubles from her brain, and pluck from her memory the rooted sorrow." (Cheers.) But, above all, if we be just men, we shall go forward in the name of truth and right, bearing this in mind—that, when the case is proved and the hour is come, justice delayed is justice denied. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. DISRAELI, who was also loudly cheered, commenced by ironically bewailing the unhappy fate which made the commencement of his Ministerial career coincident with the imperious necessity of immediately settling an account seven centuries old. Examining the elements of the Irish crisis, as stated by Mr. Gladstone, he showed that all of them had existed while he was in office, and that no attempt had been made to deal with them. Commencing with the University project, he defended the Ministerial programme in detail. The object of the proposed charter was to extend to the Irish Roman Catholics the opportunity they had long desired of giving their children the benefits of a higher educa-

tion under the influence of their own priesthood, and the sarcasm of Mr. Horsman that it was meant to conciliate Ultramontanism was absurd, as he showed by a recapitulation of the facts relating to the Queen's College, which Mr. Horsman, he said, had totally misrepresented. It had been said they intended to endow the Catholic University, but he was not aware of it. ("Oh, oh!") It was true the Secretary for Ireland had suggested the payment of University expenses, as in the case of the London University, but even if the charter were granted, the House could refuse any endowment. But the Roman Catholic gentry in Ireland had as much claim to a University education under the influence of their own communion as Protestants. It was said the education would be under the influence of the Ultramontane clergy—an epithet to which different persons would attach different meanings. ("Hear, hear," from Sir G. Bowyer.) There was no foundation in the charge implied, for it was Archbishop Murray, not Cardinal Cullen, whom Mr. Horsman eulogised, who moved the condemnation of "the godless colleges" at the Synod of Thurles. He was told that the offer they were making would not be accepted by the Roman Catholic prelates. So much the worse for them if they refused it. (Hear, hear.) It was very easy to propound other schemes, devise new Universities, and obtain cheers in the House for proposals for the revolution of Trinity College, Dublin.

That is one of the noblest institutions in the United Kingdom, but it is not a very easy corporation to manage. (Hear.) If you are to delay the management of University education by the Roman Catholic population until they have settled their affairs with Trinity College, Dublin, or until some speculative plan for a new University is carried, years and years will elapse without the Roman Catholic population having this advantage. (Hear, hear.)

He vindicated next the land policy of the Government, premising that in this and all other points the Government had proposed, not that which was theoretically perfect, but which was practical and practicable. They had picked out all those points on which there was a general agreement that legislation was possible, while they had referred to a Commission those points only which were not ripe for decision, and he characterised the assertion that the object of the Commission was delay as "the lees and refuse of factious insinuation." (Cheers and laughter.) The Devon Commission was before the deluge, before the emigration, before the famine, before the Encumbered and Landed Estates Court was founded—(Hear, hear)—and the result was that the Ireland of the present day was not the Ireland before the Devon Commission inquired into her condition, and therefore they said let landlords and tenants come and tell their tale upon the subject, and let the commissioners realise the consequences of the famine and the emigration on the soil of Ireland. Their Commission was intended not to retard, but to supplement legislation. The House of Commons ought not to be deterred from moderate and sober legislation by those monstrous inventions of a crisis in Ireland got up by the right hon. gentleman opposite for the advantage of his party. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone who had had the power of the Crown in a large proportion now for a quarter of century—(cheers)—had never done anything for Ireland but make speeches in favour of the Irish Church. (Renewed cheers.) The Appropriation Clause was modest in comparison with his tactics. (Cheers.) Passing to the Church question, and admitting that the Irish Church was not in the position he should wish to see her—not having in her communion the majority of the people—Mr. Disraeli discussed and defended the principle of ecclesiastical endowments. He was deeply impressed with the importance of connecting the principle of religion with Government. If not, they would reduce the power and character of Government, which would come to be a mere affair of police.

Endowment was the practical mode of carrying the system into operation. It gives a corporate character to the religious principles which influence men. A Church and ecclesiastical endowment—a Church whatever may be its character—I speak not only of the Church of this country, or even of the Roman Catholic Church, but of any body of religious men who have an organisation. It steadies faith; it is a bulwark alike against credulity and fanaticism, and I do not myself practically see how such a state of affairs can be carried on unless you adopt the principle of endowment. I should say this particularly with regard to this country, because the spirit of our legislation of late years has extended into so many subjects—to education, charity, the reform of criminals, and other matters, and which it is utterly impossible to carry into effect unless the state has at its command the active and dignified co-operation of a body of men like the clergy, set apart for such noble and spiritual offices. The hon. member for Birmingham confessed this principle in that speech which I listened to with pleasure, as I always do to his speeches—at least, generally speaking. (A laugh.) The great feature of that speech, which was most adroitly conciliatory, was to confess the principle of endowment. That was his principle. He said, "The grievances of Ireland are on the carpet for discussion at present. My remedy is prepared and prompt—disendow the Church, and the whole thing is settled."

But it might be said they must do this not merely because it would settle the grievances of Ireland; that was not the only reason why Mr. Bright recommended disendowment, but because disendowment was opposed to the spirit of the age. But was endowment opposed to the spirit of the age?

Is endowment opposed to the character and disposition of the inhabitants of these isles? No doubt that character and disposition must, in a certain degree, be influenced by the spirit of the age, but it is stronger than the spirit of the age, and we must consider it, as the representatives of the people, in reference, not to the public opinion of Europe, nor to any

cosmopolitan sentiments, but in reference to those whom we represent. (Cheers.) There is a very active party in this country opposed to endowment. They are organised, intelligent, and, so far as their private life is concerned, eminently decorous and praiseworthy, but that party is not the creation of the spirit of the age. They are Nonconformists—they are the descendants, in many instances, and certainly the representatives, of the people who entertained the same opinions two centuries ago. They were opposed to ecclesiastical endowments in the times of the Stuarts; they are opposed to ecclesiastical endowments in the days of Victoria. They were in the days of the Stuarts, even when they were successful and triumphant, only a minority of the people, and I believe they are only a minority of the people now. (Hear, hear.) But they have allies. The Nonconformists of the present day have allies that the Nonconformists did not possess in the days of the Stuarts. They have with them a body, very limited in number, but very influential from their intellect, and from another cause to which I will advert, and that is the philosophers. (Laughter.) Now, the philosophers must always be very limited in number, but they are necessarily, from their pursuits and from their characters, men of great intellect and intelligence, and they always exercise a great influence over the press. They exercised great influence over the press before the French Revolution by their command over, and indeed by their establishment of, the *Encyclopædia*; and at the present day in England there is not a leading article that strikes you that you may not almost trace to a philosopher. (A laugh.) The philosophers assist the Nonconformists, and though they have not a single point in sympathy, yet the Nonconformists and the philosophers make a most active and influential body in the State.

The people of England were a religious people, and a religious people would always be in favour of ecclesiastical endowment, that is, co-operation, which gave importance and precision to their convictions. He thought they were embarking in a very dangerous course when at a period at which no one could have anticipated it, a right hon. gentleman of Mr. Gladstone's great standing in the country came forward suddenly, as it were from ambush—(Oh, oh)—and announced that he proposes to destroy an institution he had himself often advocated, and which had existed from the time of the Tudors; but when they were invited to follow this policy in deference to the principles of a greater master upon this subject, who with honourable candour had told them what was the issue at stake, namely, whether they should terminate in this country ecclesiastical endowments, he wanted the House to realise the gravity of the question upon which they were going to decide; for their decision would certainly be followed by consequences which must give a new colour to English society, and alter all the principles upon which they and their forefathers for years had acted. (Cheers.)

Remember that you are something more than mere senators; you are the representatives of a nation, and of an ancient nation, and I deny your moral competency to come to such a decision as the hon. member for Birmingham recommends, and as the right hon. member for South Lancashire is prepared practically to carry out—I deny your moral competency to do that without an appeal to the nation. (Loud cheers and counter cheers.) I say that it is a question which the country can alone decide. (Hear, hear.) You cannot in an offhand manner settle such a question. You are counselled to take a course to-night, which would effect a revolution in this country. (Hear, hear.) I am not treating of the limited issue to which the right hon. gentleman conveniently confined himself. I take the broader issue laid down by the great master of this subject, and upon which England and Ireland will probably soon have to decide. How have you been introduced to this discussion? The Liberal party have been in power more than a quarter of a century—aye, thirty years. (Hear, hear.) Have they prepared the mind of England on this question? Have they risen from seats of authority, and declared that the great principle on which your society, and even your political condition is founded, is erroneous? You and your forefathers, and generations before them, and long centuries of men who have built up this great realm of England—you have acknowledged, encouraged, supported, stimulated and lived and acted under the influence of ecclesiastical endowments; and have you during all that time in any way guided public opinion to doubt the propriety and the wisdom of that course—the immense beneficence of that which you were born under, and which your forefathers created? (Hear, hear.) Not a syllable.

Lord Palmerston had never suggested such a course, and it would be indecent in the House of Commons to attempt—(cries of "Oh, oh," and cheers)—to come now to a decision on such a subject without the power of placing before the nation the issue before them. (Cheers.)

I should have thought the best course would have been to have allowed the necessary business of the session to be disposed of, and then to have hastened to appeal to the enlarged constituency which fortunately the bill of last year has secured to us. (Laughter from the Opposition, and cheers from the Ministerial benches.) If this course be not followed you may be told at the hustings that you have changed the whole framework of the social system without having come before the new constituency. (Hear, hear.)

Being personally in favour of ecclesiastical endowments, he strongly objected to the destruction of the Irish Church. The violence and confiscation with which it must be accompanied would be a great detriment to Ireland, where there had already been violence and confiscation enough; but he reserved to himself the right of considering the labours of the Commission now sitting, and at the same time he expressed a decided opinion that the moment had arrived when there must be a considerable change in the condition of the unendowed clergy of Ireland which would elevate their influence. By this he did not mean what was vulgarly called "paying the priests," making them the stipendiaries of the State, of which he strongly disapproved. He did not

think the flippant and heartless allusions of the *Quarterly Review* on the subject judicious. To a certain extent there might have been some practical truth thirty-five years ago in those observations; the time had gone by for such an arrangement, as it has gone by for the arrangement which the matured wisdom of Lord Russell announced to be waiting as the result of his unrivalled experience, and indicated the young Ascanius of the House as the only man to carry such a new policy into effect. (Laughter.) Referring to his oft-quoted speech of 1844, he maintained that, though expressed, perhaps, with the heedless rhetoric which appeared to be the appanage of all who sat below the gangway, the sentiment of it was right. The right hon. gentleman concluded by saying:—

In my opinion a policy of conciliation in Ireland which is to commence by outraging the feelings and humiliating the pride of a million and a half of men—(No, no)—most loyal, most intelligent, very wealthy, and high-spirited, is not a wise policy. (Cheers.) It may be a party triumph, but it will not in my mind tend to the national welfare. I apprehend from what we have heard from the member for South Lancashire that the member for Cork will not call for a division, but if he did I certainly should oppose his motion, because I can see no practical result that can arise from it. All that the Government proposes to do they can accomplish without going into a committee on the state of Ireland. Notwithstanding the success of hon. gentlemen opposite, we trust that a charter will receive her Majesty's sanction, with the approbation of this House, to institute a Roman Catholic University. (Hear, hear.) We ask for no endowment. If the House will not grant to the Roman Catholics of Ireland assistance which they give to the London University, which boasts of not being a religious body, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who have outlived the penal laws, will probably be able to survive that infliction. We have told you that we are prepared immediately to legislate on certain points of improvement in respect to the land on which both sides of the House are agreed, and to institute a commission on the points on which they are not agreed, after which we will legislate also on controverted points. We shall also introduce, within a few hours, a reform bill for Ireland which will greatly add to the popular privileges of the people of that country. There are many of my friends, and many gentlemen, indeed, on both sides of the House, who look with some apprehension on such a measure. I do not, because I believe that we are on the eve of a policy for Ireland which will reconcile races, settle a community, and terminate the sorrows of a people who have been afflicted for centuries. (Cheers.)

The motion and amendment were withdrawn, and the debate came to a close.

In committee several supplemental votes in the Civil Service Estimates were agreed to.

Some other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at five minutes to two o'clock.

PRIVATE BILLS.

On Tuesday there was a long discussion on Mr. Dodson's resolution for changing the procedure on Private Bills. On the first, which gave power to the Committee of Selection to refer Private Bills to a committee consisting of two members of the House and two referees, there was a protracted discussion. Lord HOTHAM, the Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, objected to it, and proposed that the committee should be formed of four members and one referee. Very general preference was expressed for Lord Hotham's suggestion, and ultimately Mr. DODSON adopted it. Mr. MILNER GIBSON, however, moved that the Parliamentary members of the committee be three only; but on a division the original number, four, was carried by 162 to 159. Lord Hotham's resolution was then carried, and Mr. DODSON adjourned the debate on his other proposals until Tuesday next.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Mr. A. BRUCE (who was most indistinctly heard) asked leave to introduce a bill to provide for elementary education in England and Wales. He said he would give a sketch of the substance of the bill, inasmuch as the bill he had introduced last year had been altered by it, and some important principles had been added. The bill of last year was a permissive bill. It was intended to give every community throughout the country the power of raising funds to provide for the education of their respective districts. Such an experiment had been highly successful in Canada; but in deference to the objections that were urged in reference to that measure he had undertaken the introduction of the present bill, which contained all the main principles and provisions of the previous bill, together with the machinery for its compulsory enforcement where the existence of educational destitution was found after full inquiry to render it necessary. The bill did not propose to interfere with districts already adequately provided for under the existing voluntary system. It provided for the voluntary adoption of the bill by municipal boroughs or places under local boards, commissioners, or trustees entrusted by any local act with powers of improvement. It also provided for its adoption by all unions not included in the places above mentioned, by special districts to be formed under an Order in Council, and by unions of districts or parts of parishes. The Committee of Council would be authorised to allow the withdrawal of a parish from a union, but not from a borough or any other district. With respect to the compulsory powers, application might be made to the Committee of Council for the formation of an ordinary or special district, and the inquiry which

was to lead to such an order might be made either on the application of one-tenth of the ratepayers in number and value, or might be set on foot by the Committee of Council on information derived from their inspector or from other sources. This inquiry would be conducted on the spot after due notice by a commission, who would report fully as to the reasons for the adoption of the Act, and the objections against it, concluding with recommendations to the committee. The Committee of Council would thereupon make such order as they might deem expedient. The right hon. gentleman entered into details, which were imperfectly heard, with reference to the constitution of the school committees in municipal boroughs and other districts. The scale of fees might be arranged between the managers and the school committee, but not lower than the following—namely, 6d. for each boy and 5d. for each girl above six years of age; and 4d. for each boy or girl under that age; infant school half that sum. If the school did not receive a grant from the committee there should be a grant from the Government, 2s. 4d. per child which passed in reading, writing, or arithmetic. If it was proved that the weekly contributions were unnecessarily large, they might be reduced. The unaided schools' children might be received by arrangement between the managers and the committee without payment, or with only a small payment from their parents; the expense to be defrayed out of the funds raised for the ordinary local purposes. He would now call attention to some points of difference between the present scheme and that suggested by his right hon. friend (Mr. Lowe). His right hon. friend's scheme was that the Committee of Council should immediately issue a commission to inquire into the wants of the country with respect to education. Where the voluntary system was found to have supplied all that was needed, nothing would be done, but otherwise his bill would come into force. This bill, however, proceeded less summarily. In the first place, it provided for its voluntary adoption by any place that chose to put itself under it. He (Mr. Bruce) could not help thinking that such towns as Manchester and Birmingham, which were fully alive to the want of education, should have an opportunity of voluntarily adopting the measure in place of having it forced upon them. In the next place, there would be a great disadvantage in attempting at once to impose one form of education upon the whole of the country. It was impossible for Parliament by any order it might issue at once to create a new system for the whole country. It would, in fact, be impossible at once to find a sufficient number of teachers qualified to give the desired instruction. His right hon. friend had shown how completely the success of a school depended upon the efficiency of the master; and they could not at once create a sufficient supply of instructors such as they needed. (Hear, hear.) Again, though he admitted that the voluntary system had to a certain extent failed, he could not forget that it had done great things, and he believed that it was capable of doing even more under the influence of that gentle compulsion which it was the object of his bill to apply. It was his belief that the apprehension that the act would be applied unless something were done by a certain time would in many instances make that something forthcoming. (Hear, hear.) Another point of difference between the present scheme and that of his right hon. friend was this. His right hon. friend proposed that while Government grants might for the present be continued to denominational schools, local rates should in no case be applied to any but those conducted on the secular system. To that he (Mr. Bruce) had a very strong objection. He certainly did not look on secular education with the contempt that some did. On the contrary, it seemed to him that secular instruction was absolutely necessary for the due reception of religious truth. (Cheers.) At the same time he must admit that that did not seem to be any valid reason why religious instruction should not be combined with secular. (Cheers.) More than that, it would seem monstrous, after expending many millions in fostering denominational schools, to turn round and refuse to the promoters of those schools that aid from the local rate which they offered to others. (Hear, hear.) It appeared to him that the introduction of a sufficient conscience clause would meet all the difficulty. And here he might observe, that the form of that clause was altered in the bill. At present it provided that parents should be allowed by notice in writing to withdraw their children from the teaching of any religious doctrine, catechism, or formula to which they were opposed. To that it was objected that many persons, though they did not wish their children to learn a catechism, might have no objection to religious teaching. Indeed it was said that it would be impossible to enforce any mortal duty by any religious sanction if the words were retained. The conscience clause in the bill was therefore divided into two parts, the first relating to the compulsory teaching of any catechism or formula, and the second to other religious teaching. The latter was obviously necessary, for it would be perfectly easy to inculcate a doctrine objected to by a parent even though no particular formula was insisted upon. It might, perhaps, be asked what he proposed if in a given district there was not a tenth of the inhabitants in number or value with sufficient public spirit, and if the Committee of Council neglected its duty. The only remedy he could suggest was the responsibility of the Committee of Council; and if it should be found necessary to make that responsibility more direct, he had no doubt that Parliament would take the

proper measures. As it was likely that the State would hereafter interfere with the instruction not only of the poor but of the middle classes, the appointment of a Minister of Education would probably be found necessary; and that Minister would, of course, be directly responsible to Parliament. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Bruce) had had much more frequent recourse to that "Deus ex machina," the Committee of Council, than he could have wished. That arose from the want of a local board. Obviously the districts which stood most in need of the bill would seldom be continuous with any district known to the law; and, pending the creation of a local board, there was no alternative but to set the Committee of Council in motion. As to the question of free schools, he could not refuse to give power for their establishment after the success of the experiment in Manchester. The free schools in that city, when subjected to the only satisfactory test, that of attendance, yielded results nearly as satisfactory as those of Prussia. The average attendance used to be 75 per cent.—now for the greater proportion of infant schools it was probably less; but the attendance at the Manchester free schools was 92 per cent. (Hear, hear.) They were intended for the very poor, but they would probably not be very numerous; for the bill gave permission for the payment of the school fees where parents were unable to do so, and that provision would meet ordinary cases. (Hear, hear.) He should rejoice to find that the promised measure of her Majesty's Government rendered the further prosecution of this bill unnecessary; but he asked leave to introduce it in order that it might be before the country. He believed that, while it would utilise the existing schools, it would meet those wants of the population which the existing schools were unable to supply. (Cheers.)

Mr. HARDY said that there was no opposition to the introduction of the measure, and therefore it was unnecessary to discuss its details at the present stage.

Leave was then given.

Bills were also brought in by Mr. HARDY, in the absence of the Earl of Mayo, to amend the law relating to reformatory schools in Ireland, and by Sir J. PAKINGTON to amend the Contagious Diseases Act. The Sea Fisheries and the Fairs (Ireland) Bills passed through committee.

In committee of supply votes of 48,479, and 90,619, were taken to cover excess of expenditure in the Army and Navy Departments.

COMPULSORY CHURCH-RATES ABOLITION BILL.

On the consideration of this bill, several new clauses were added on the motion of Sir R. PALMER.

Mr. HENLEY moved to omit the words "to vote upon any question as to making any such voluntary rate," in Clause 7, line 21, on the ground that such disqualification would only put people's backs up. The object of the measure was to get money and to make peace, and this provision was not likely to lead to either result.

Sir R. PALMER thought that the alteration proposed by the right hon. member would disturb the general arrangements of the bill. It appeared to him that the clause as it stood was as mild and moderate as it possibly could be. If the clause was right in principle, as he believed it to be, the part to which the right hon. gentleman's motion referred was the most unexceptionable.

The motion was then negatived, and the amendments made in committee were agreed to.

The House adjourned at five minutes past eight o'clock.

SUNDAY SALE OF LIQUORS.

On Wednesday, Mr. J. A. SMITH moved the second reading of his Sale of Liquors Bill (for and against which a great mass of petitions was presented). The bill limits the sale of liquors on Sunday to the hours between one o'clock and half-past two, and between eight and ten o'clock in the evening, and prohibits entirely the consumption of liquors on the premises, with this exception, that in London a lodger or any person taking a *bona fide* meal in a public-house may have liquor supplied with it. Mr. Smith said he proposed the bill as a social and economical improvement, entirely apart from religious objects, and he justified it on four grounds—that drunkenness increases in proportion to the facilities for getting drunk, that similar restrictive legislation had been successful in checking drunkenness, that the majority of the working classes were in favour of restrictions, and that it was unjust to permit public-houses to be open on Sundays when all other shops were closed. In illustration of these points he quoted some remarkable statistics, contrasting the drunkenness of Liverpool, where there is practically almost free trade in liquors, with the figures in fourteen other large towns, which gave some startling results. For instance, in Liverpool the drunkenness is three and a-half times as great as in Manchester, where the population is larger. He showed the decrease of drunkenness in Scotland which had followed on the Forbes-Mackenzie Act, and in proof of the opinion of the working classes he referred to the large number of signatures attached to the petitions in favour of the bill.

Mr. LOCKE moved its rejection, and strongly denounced it as a piece of class legislation—a libel on the working classes, who were not to be treated as children to be put into leading-strings and kept sober by legislation. The bill would not cure

drunkenness, it would lead to numerous inconveniences, and would promote secret drinking. He denied that the working classes were in favour of restriction.

Mr. LABOUCHERE, who seconded the amendment, appealed to the experience of the United States, where this restrictive legislation had failed. The most efficient mode of legislating against drunkenness would be by some alteration of the licensing system.

Mr. HIBBERT preferred that restriction should be in the way of shortening the present hours simply, without interfering with consumption on the premises, and suggested that they should be from one to half-past two, and from half-past four to nine o'clock. He suggested also the granting of six days' licences, and, looking to the strong feeling in favour of some kind of restriction, he advised Mr. Smith to consent to refer the bill to a select committee.

Mr. GLADSTONE supported this suggestion, pointing out that by reading the bill a second time the House would only assent to the principle that it was prepared to take some step in advance for regulating the liquor-traffic. Not being prepared to do even good to the working men against their will, he thought a select committee would be useful in ascertaining their opinion on the question of restriction, as well as inquiring into various points connected with the licensing system.

Mr. ROEBUCK, in his bitterest tone, condemned the bill as a covert attempt to introduce the Maine Liquor Law here, though he separated Mr. Smith from the ascetic fanatics who had this aim in view. All this manner of legislation, he pointed out, had failed in the United States, and he endeavoured to show by analysing the petitions that the opinion of the working classes was against restriction.

Mr. HARDY held that the bill carried restriction so far that it would create reaction, and would place Parliament in a disagreeable position towards the working classes. He objected, too, to legislating differently for London and the country. In its present shape, therefore, he must oppose it, but if Mr. Smith would allow it to be referred to a select committee—whose range of inquiry should not be confined to the four corners of the bill—he would assent to the second reading. How to prevent drunkenness without doing grievous injustice to individuals was full of difficulties, but he held that the whole subject was bound up in the licensing system.

Mr. HENLEY said that the best course would be to negative the bill and refer the whole subject to a select committee.

Mr. OSBORNE (quoting Mr. Disraeli) denied the competency of a moribund Parliament to deal with the question in the manner proposed. He condemned the bill as retrograde, partial, and savouring of class legislation.

Mr. MELLY, Mr. POWELL, and Mr. HUGHES spoke in favour of the bill, and Mr. SMITH explained that in referring it to a select committee he did not undertake an inquiry into the licensing system, but merely into the general question of the sale of liquors on Sunday. A long conversation followed on the probable powers of the committee, and ultimately the bill was read a second time and ordered to be referred to a select committee, with power to take evidence, and on the understanding that it would inquire into all points connected with the sale of liquors on Sundays.

The House adjourned at half-past five.

Postscript.

Friday, March 20, 1868.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

In the House of Lords the Bishop of London, in presenting a petition from certain members of the Senate of the University of Cambridge, praying that the religious character of the colleges might be maintained, stated that he did not apprehend that the admission of persons other than members of the Established Church to the senate would make any essential difference in the character of the senate, but he agreed with the petitioners that the government of the colleges should be reserved to the Established Church. There would be no objection to giving fellowships as prizes without their involving any share in the management of the colleges.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, replying to Lord Taunton, said the Ritual Commission were busily engaged in preparing their second report, and he hoped it would be presented in a short time.

The House adjourned at five minutes after six o'clock.

In the Commons the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER stated that he proposed to make his financial statement on the first Thursday after the Easter recess.

THE RATEPAYING CLAUSES.

On the motion for going into committee of supply, Mr. JAMES WHITE moved the resolution of which he had given notice for the repeal of the ratepaying clauses of the Reform Act. In an able speech Mr. White showed the oppressiveness of those clauses; how much of evil and misery they are causing, and how completely unnecessary they are. He advocated a return to the system of compounding without the tenant thereby losing his vote. Mr. C. FORSTER supported the motion, and adduced numerous facts in support of it. Then came Mr. AYRTON, who pleaded for delay. The whole subject was surrounded with difficulties. The committee appointed at his instance would inquire into the question, and

its inquiries might help to smooth over the difficulties. Mr. DIXON argued that there was no reason whatever for delay. Mr. HENLEY, of course, opposed the motion. Mr. GOSCHEN supported it, but suggested that it should not be pressed to a division. In the debate which followed Mr. SANDFORD attacked the Government for its policy of not originating measures, but leaving everything to be dealt with by committees and commissions. He declared he would rather have household suffrage pure and simple than the existing state of things. This declaration was elicited by an attack made upon him by Mr. GATHORNE HARDY in opposing the motion. Mr. HARDY had said that the present suffrage was a household rating suffrage, and added, with a sneer, that Mr. Sandford wished them to adopt household suffrage pure and simple. Mr. SANDFORD's reply was loudly cheered. Mr. HARDY further attempted to cast all the blame of abolition of compounding upon the Liberals. Mr. GLADSTONE declined to accept the blame. He, however, counselled the withdrawal of the motion, in order that Mr. Ayrton's committee might inquire into the matter. But there must be no delay; indeed the matter was too serious to be delayed. Acting upon Mr. Gladstone's suggestion, Mr. WHITE withdrew his motion.

THE IRISH REFORM BILL.

The Earl of Mayo brought in the Irish Reform Bill. He announced at the outset that no change would be made in the county franchise, which now stands at 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ rating; but the borough franchise would be reduced from 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$, and then by the peculiar rating arrangements of Ireland (each tenant over 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ paying half the rates) every man who paid rates would have a vote. This would add 9,313 electors to the borough constituencies, bringing the whole number up to 40,000. The provisions as to residence or registration would remain unaltered, but there would be a lodger franchise and a Boundary Commission. Passing to the redistribution scheme, Lord Mayo analysed minutely the population and property returns of the boroughs and counties of Ireland, from which he drew the conclusion that the counties were under-represented in comparison with the boroughs, and particularly the four largest counties—Cork, Tyrone, Down, and Tipperary. To give them adequate representation the bill proposed that Downpatrick, Dungannon, Bandon, Kinsale, and Cashel, should yield their seats to new divisions of Down, Tyrone, Cork, and Tipperary counties respectively. In none of these cases would the locality of representation be removed, but Portlinton would be called on for a greater sacrifice, as she would be asked to give up her seat to furnish a third member to Dublin city, who would be elected on the minority principle.

The motion for leave to bring in a bill was agreed to without discussion, but a discussion was raised on a motion by Colonel French for the adjournment of the House, in which the merits of the scheme were criticised by Dr. Brady, Mr. O'Beirne, Mr. Rearden, Mr. Lawson, and Mr. Bagwell, the principal points of objection being that the redistribution was not fair, and that in proposing to add to the representation of Tyrone and Tipperary Government were actuated by party motives, and the desire to give greater influence to the landlord class. In reply to Mr. Fortescue, the Earl of Mayo said the third member to be given to Dublin would be on the principle of a minority vote; and Mr. GLADSTONE expressed his regret that the Government had not made a further extension of the franchise. The motion for adjournment was then withdrawn.

Some other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at a quarter to twelve o'clock.

THE UNIVERSITIES BILL.—On Wednesday evening a meeting of the congregation of Steelhouse-lane Chapel, Birmingham, was convened by the pastor relative to Mr. Coleridge's bill proposing to open the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford to Dissenters. The Rev. S. Pearson, M.A., presided, and, after having explained the provisions of the bill, proposed that a petition to Parliament be adopted and signed. The proposition was seconded by Mr. Thomson, supported by Mr. Schnadhurst, and carried unanimously.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY AND THE TESTS QUESTION.—Yesterday the congregation of the University Senate decided to petition against Mr. Coleridge's bill by 116 to 62 votes. The minority is much larger than has heretofore been the case, and shows the growing feeling in favour of the abolition of tests.

THE QUEEN, accompanied by the Princess Christian and the Princess Beatrice, and attended by a brilliant staff, including the Princes Teck and Christian, and the Duke of Cambridge, inspected the troops at Aldershot yesterday. Her Majesty looked well, and was everywhere cordially received.

THE HUDDERSFIELD ELECTION took place yesterday. By ten o'clock it was virtually over. At four o'clock Mr. Leatham had polled 1,112 votes, and Mr. Sleight only 785. Not only did Mr. Leatham poll more votes than had ever before been polled by any candidate in Huddersfield, but his majority, 327, was much larger also.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

Although the arrivals of English wheat fresh up to-day were very moderate, the demand for both red and white qualities ruled inactive. However, compared with Monday, no quotable change took place in prices. The imports of foreign wheat having exceeded 29,000 qrs., the show of samples was on the increase. All descriptions met a slow inquiry, at late rates. Floating cargoes of grain were mostly held at full prices; but the sale for them was inactive. There was a fair quantity of barley on the stands. Malting qualities ruled steady, at full quotations.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"W. M."—Guildford-street, Russell-square, W.C.
John Brownlow, Secretary.

"J. A. Clapham."—Next week.

NOTICE TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

ON and after the 1st of April the *Nonconformist* will again be published on WEDNESDAY afternoon, instead of, as during the past three months, on Friday. The change made at the commencement of the year, was one which we and many of our town subscribers believed was likely to be generally approved by our readers; but we have received from all parts of the country overwhelming testimony that the original day of publication was most suited to the convenience of our friends, and we therefore revert to it.

The Nonconformist.

SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1868.

SUMMARY.

THE three nights' debate on Ireland has already signalled the present Parliamentary Session. Begun on Thursday, it was brought to an end in the small hours of Tuesday morning by the withdrawal of Mr. Maguire's motion for a Committee. Earl Mayo opened on the part of the Government with an outline of their Irish policy. His Bill in favour of compensation for tenants' unexhausted improvements is yet to be produced. The promise of a Royal Commission on the relations of the owners and occupiers of the soil may pave the way either for a vindication of Irish landlords, or for further legislation. The scheme of setting up by Royal charter, a Catholic University to be hereafter endowed by the State, has been nipped in the bud by the indignant protests of the leading Liberal statesmen, and the unconcealed antipathy of the Tory benches. The vague suggestion for carrying out the "levelling up" principle by heaping "burden upon burden" on the British taxpayer for endowing the Catholic Church and increasing the *Regium Donum* has also, for a like reason, fallen to the ground. Thus the ground was cleared for the leaders of the House on Monday night. Mr. Gladstone's memorable declaration that the Irish Church must be disestablished, and that the time for action had arrived, left the Prime Minister no other resource but to place himself at the head of the party of resistance, and sink into his old position as the leader of the Tory obstructives. In unscrupulousness and sophistical pleas, Mr. Disraeli surpassed himself at the close of the debate. He spoke with the air of a man who having been outvoted in the Cabinet, was under the necessity of finding excuses for a policy in which he did not really believe, and of not committing himself too deeply. The Prime Minister has evidently lost ground, and is conscious of his altered position.

Mr. Gladstone has promised that the Irish Church question shall be raised on a distinct issue. A resolution in favour of disestablishment is to be taken "on an early day," after the Opposition leader has taken counsel with his supporters. Whether the motion will be framed with a view to pledge the present House of Commons by a formal vote to dis-establishment, or for the purpose of eliciting opinion in prospect of an early dissolution, does not yet appear to be decided. If Mr. Gladstone had intended, as was said, at once to propose an address to

the Crown on the subject of the Irish Church, he has apparently changed his purpose. Mr. Disraeli cannot prevent a full expression of opinion on the question, but it is quite possible that a section of the Liberal party may timidly hesitate to take a course which would endanger the Government, or may be influenced by his idle threat of a penal dissolution. We fear that if delay is necessary, it is thus to be explained.

Judging from the decision of the Huddersfield constituency following a series of isolated elections during the past year in which the Liberals have substantially gained, the Prime Minister would simply court ignominious defeat by an immediate general election. Mr. E. A. Leatham, who formerly represented that borough, has been returned by a majority of 327 over his Conservative antagonist, Mr. Sleight, and by the largest number of votes ever polled at Huddersfield. As Mr. Leatham replaces a Conservative Liberal, we may presume that that borough repents of having sent Mr. Crosland to Parliament as an equivocal supporter of Mr. Gladstone. The new member will take his position as an advanced Liberal, able to assist his party by an eloquent tongue as well as by a reliable vote. We congratulate him upon being restored to the House of Commons, and Huddersfield upon having secured a staunch and efficient representative at this juncture of affairs.

The Government have produced their Irish Reform Bill. It was introduced by Lord Mayo on Thursday evening. The main features of the measure are a 4s. instead of an 8s. rating franchise for boroughs, no change in the county qualification, the disfranchisement of six boroughs taken out of the populous and Liberal counties, and a third member for Dublin city. Some 8,000 voters will be added to the borough constituencies, raising the total to only 40,000. The scheme was received with something like indifference. Mr. Gladstone approving of some features of it, reserves his opinion till the details can be examined, and the *Times* describes the Bill "as little more than a provisional scheme for the reform of the Irish representation." The plan of disfranchising small boroughs is contrary to one of Mr. Disraeli's "five principles," and will furnish an argument for the Scotch members to obtain their additional seats by means of a similar operation.

The Bill of Mr. Coleridge for the abolition of University Tests comes on for second reading next Wednesday, and is expected to lead to a warm debate and a large division. Unable to arrest the Bill, an attempt will apparently be made to effect a compromise in the interests of the Church. On Thursday night, in the Lords, the Bishop of London announced his readiness to accede to everything claimed in respect to the two Universities, even to the admission of Dissenters to the governing bodies and professorships. But his lordship takes his stand against throwing open the colleges, which he thinks should remain in the hands of members of the Establishment. This suggestion is no doubt made with a view to guide the opponents of Mr. Coleridge's Bill in both Houses of Parliament.

An Imperial manifesto has been for some days expected at Paris with a view to stem the tide of unpopularity which has been steadily rising against Napoleon III. for his illiberal policy and his burdensome military arrangements. It has appeared in the shape of a quiet pamphlet on "The Titles of the Napoleonic Dynasty," which shows by dry and official records that the two Napoleons have enjoyed supreme power by the decision of the national will distinctly recorded in national votes. The Emperor reigns, we are told, by virtue of a solemn compact entered into between the nation and the dynasty which can be modified only by plebiscite, but there is a progressive element in the Constitution which depends on the appreciation and authority of the Senate. We suppose the meaning of the pamphlet to be that the Napoleonic dynasty is unchangeable save by the adverse vote of the nation deliberately recorded, but that in other respects the institutions of the country may be improved. At a time when indignation is aroused by the virtual denial of a free press and the right of public meeting, when the regular Opposition in the Chamber is obtaining increased public support, and when there is, as at Toulouse and Montauban, open resistance to the national moveable guard to the cry of "Vive la République," it has been thought expedient to set forth the legal basis of the Imperial dynasty, and invite the whole nation to become a party to Imperial misgovernment. Such apologies and tactics are a sign of weakness, and we fear a symptom too that Napoleon III. has come to the end of his Liberal policy, and falls back upon his constitutional rights.

The Pope has created six new cardinals, including the Abbé Lucien Bonaparte, who has received the title of Saint Pudentius. The cousin of the French Emperor, who is said to possess all the capacity and reserve of his powerful kinsman, is regarded at Rome as "the coming man." To elevate a Bonaparte to the Papal chair would be a stroke of masterly policy on the part of the College of Cardinals. It would secure French protection for the Papacy more effectually than an army of occupation, and might also pave the way for that arrangement with Italy which would for some time settle the Roman difficulty. But even a Bonaparte, any more than a Pius IX., could not do much to liberalise a hierarchical government which rests its claims upon infallibility.

THE DEBATE ON IRELAND.

THE debate on Ireland, we apprehend, should be read in the light of two considerations neither of them, perhaps, formally recognised by the speakers as pass-keys to its meaning, but each of which is indispensable to any successful attempt to gain a clear insight into its significance. It was not practical, it can hardly have been anticipated that it would be practical, in the sense of leading up directly to legislative measures; but in the two following respects it was eminently so—it was throughout, with very few and trivial exceptions, diffusive of a sympathising and conciliatory spirit towards the Irish people, and should therefore be interpreted as a serious appeal to their reason and good-will; and it was a manifesto to the reformed constituencies, containing the elements of policy on which they will be called to express their judgment at the next general election. On the patient whose case was under discussion it was designed to act as an anodyne, to soothe abnormal irritability, to induce a tranquil and hopeful tone of feeling; and it was also an open consultation on the part of professional advisers as to the remedial treatment most suited to the case; in order that the patient's friends with whom the decision will ultimately lie—the electors of the United Kingdom—may intelligently exercise their choice. No member perhaps—no leading member, certainly—took part in the debate without a reference of his thought more or less conscious, to both these ends: nor can its real importance be appreciated unless both are steadily kept in view.

One highly gratifying consequence of the pressure of these considerations upon the minds of those who mingled in the fray was its singular freedom from personal and party bitterness. True, no speaker was likely altogether to have forgotten to which side of the House he had attached himself or which political chief obtained his preference; but we cannot call to mind any great discussion of this order in which *Hansard* was so seldom appealed to. The subject unquestionably admitted of the freest employment of this flashing weapon; for there are few of our statesmen who have not at one time or another uttered opinions on the subject of the land or the Church in Ireland which might have been quoted against their present views. The battle, however—if it may be fairly described as a battle—was fought upon a higher level than that on which the *argumentum ad hominem*, or the *tu quoque* retort, can be used with advantage. The judges addressed, the Irish public and the British constituencies, would be far less affected than the House itself by the cleverest hitting of the partisan kind; and, accordingly, there was comparatively little of it. Of course, this characteristic of the discussion prevented it from being so brilliant as it otherwise might, and in all probability would, have been; but if it rendered it less amusing, it also rendered it more impressive; and perhaps the debate, regarded as a whole, constituted one of the richest and most useful contributions towards thoughtful legislation hereafter that has ever been made by a deliberative assembly. In this respect it was more than ordinarily worthy of the council of the empire.

Another striking feature of the discussion, traceable, we think, to the influence of the considerations above adverted to, was the seriousness of spirit which prevailed. We do not mean by seriousness lack of life, nor even lack of humour—we mean that most of the speakers were seemingly at least in earnest. Lord Castlereagh was wont to allude to a grand debate in the House of Commons as a Parliamentary field-day. The Irish debate, if a field-day at all, was a review, held neither for ostentation nor for exercise, but with an eye to an approaching conflict of greater severity, possibly, than any that has preceded it. The House seems to have an instinctive perception of the stupendous issues which are involved in what may be called the Irish question, and of the impracticability of

any long postponement of them. Things will have to be done which the present Parliament is not morally qualified to attempt, and which, therefore, it must needs devolve upon its successor—things which only the sternest necessity will render tolerable even in prospect. All are sensible that a vast change is impending; and, under the grave impression made by the expectation, members have spoken out with a sincerity and a manliness such as have not been common for many years past. They were clearly more anxious to put themselves right with the future which is close at hand, than to square their thoughts and utterances with the present; and their anxiety naturally imparted a tone of deep earnestness to their speeches.

The force of the same twofold motive disclosed itself still more distinctly in the explicitness of the leading speakers on both sides. Whatever may be thought of the efficacy of the several prescriptions recommended, complaint cannot fairly be made of their indefiniteness. They were not written in hieroglyphics. They were not obscurely hinted at, nor couched in phrases susceptible of various and opposite interpretations. Considering the vagueness of the motion, and the previously well-known understanding that no division would be taken upon it, we were not prepared to expect any clear demarcation of the different lines of policy to be affirmed. The debate, however, has brought out quite palpably the principles which will henceforth constitute the life of contending parties. Every man will now know his place, what objects he is to pursue, what lead he is to follow, under what flag he is to serve, and what weapons will best answer his purpose. This is as it should be—an immense gain upon last Session. There is an end, we trust, to promiscuous fighting. The country will know the position taken up by Conservatism, and will recognise it as one which well befits the traditions and professions of the party. It will also distinguish the ground occupied by Liberalism, and will regard it as highly worthy of the historical fame of the Liberal party. The hosts, duly marshalled, will front each other in the "open," and bush-skirmishing will cease. In a word, the issues are all defined—an advantage it is well nigh impossible to overrate in cases where the ultimate decision rests with public opinion constitutionally expressed.

Lastly, the discussion from first to last must be looked upon as a tribute of respect and sympathy to Ireland. Irishmen of all shades of politics, of all ranks of social life, in all parts of the world, may find in the tone in which their country has been spoken of matter of pride and gratification. Her miseries have been feelingly alluded to—her wrongs have been honestly confessed—her virtues have been highly appreciated—her very prejudices, as having originated in misgovernment, have been delicately and tenderly handled. She may congratulate herself on the auspicious change which has come over the spirit of the Imperial Legislature in respect of what concerns her national well-being. We have no right, of course, to flatter ourselves into an expectation that mere words will suffice her; but words of heartfelt sympathy, if only they are followed by acts of justice and generosity, will not have been thrown away. They have been uttered under circumstances which leave no room for reasonable suspicion as to their sincerity. Their tendency, at any rate, will be to stay the further progress of disaffection. They will not cure those who have already inhaled the poison, but those who have not they will strengthen to resist its insidious influence, and, like the smoke of incense between the living and the dead, may arrest the spreading evil and eventually destroy it.

It cannot therefore be truly said that the debate has been a sterile one. On the contrary, its practical results transcend in importance any mere legislative proposals capable of being carried into effect by the existing Parliament. It is in the nature of a bill drawn on the new constituent body, which, if duly honoured, will initiate a novel, and let us hope, a happier future for Ireland. If it inspire her with hope, if it divert her attention from impossible schemes, if it dispel her mistrust of British intentions and British competency to reduce them to practice, it will have done more to cement the union between the two countries, than any measure which has been passed since the Emancipation Act. It is a right good beginning—may it lead on to an end which shall thoroughly correspond with it.

MR. BRUCE'S EDUCATION BILL.

ON Tuesday evening last Mr. Bruce obtained leave to bring in his new Bill, to provide for elementary education in England and Wales. We have not yet received a copy of the measure,

but the right hon. gentleman in his introductory speech gave such a minute description of its clauses as will suffice to make known its principal features. Broadly speaking, it is a Bill to bring the aid of compulsory rating to supplement and extend the scheme of education carried into effect by the Committee of Privy Council—that is, so far as we are able to judge—to make people who have not voluntarily provided denominational schools enough for the district in which they reside, pay rates for a further provision of schools of the same class.

First of all the measure maps out, if we may so express it, the whole country into school districts, and sets forth by whom, and within what limits, the machinery may be adopted and set and kept in motion. Municipal boroughs, for instance; places under the jurisdiction of a local board, or of improvement commissioners; all unions not included in or coextensive with them, and special districts formed under an Order in Council, will come under the operation of the Act; on the hypothesis, of course—a very doubtful one, we apprehend—that the Bill ever do become an Act of Parliament. The education districts having been thus defined, the Committee of Council may, after due inquiry, directed to be made on its own authority, or demanded by one-tenth in number or rateable value of the persons who are or may be electors of any district, order a compulsory application of the Act. A school committee for the district will then be elected—in boroughs by the council either wholly or partly out of their own body, and in all other districts by ratepayers from among the owners and occupiers of land, &c., of an annual value of not less than ten pounds; and this committee of six, nine, or twelve persons, as the case may be, is to appoint a clerk, treasurer, and inspector for the district. It will not be authorised to interfere with the constitution, management, arrangements, discipline, or instruction of any of the schools in union with itself, but will merely have to see that the conditions and regulations laid down in the Act are properly observed by all of them, and it will be expected to inquire into the school accommodation of the district, and where it is found insufficient, to enforce the making of additional provision.

We have now the superintending district authority with means at its command—let us next look at the potential recipients of its aid. The managers of every school in the district, whatever its denomination, who do not exact a weekly payment of more than ninepence of each of its scholars, may apply to the committee to be received into union with it, and if refused, may appeal for redress to the Committee of Council. But then, the schools under their management must fulfil the following conditions. They must be open to inspection by both central and local inspectors; they must adopt the discipline and instruction of the minutes of Council (with a "Conscience Clause"); they must refuse no scholar tendering the weekly fee, except for mental or physical incapacity, crime, or expulsion from some other school; their teachers, where the schools are in receipt of a Privy Council grant, must be qualified as required by the Government code, and where they are not, as required by the committee; their schoolrooms must be healthy, and well ventilated, and they must be open for forty weeks in every year on five days in each week (Sundays excluded), and for not less than four hours each day. Schools thus qualified will come into union with the district committee, either as free schools or as aided schools, and will then receive pecuniary grants from ratable sources according to any scale agreed upon between the managers and the committee, but in no case less than the following weekly payments. If for a free school, for every boy above six years of age, sixpence; for every girl above six years of age, fivepence; for every boy or girl under six years of age, fourpence. Where the school is not in receipt of an annual grant from the Committee of Council, a further annual grant will be made by the district committee of two shillings and fourpence for every child who passes its examination in reading, writing, and ciphering. If, on the other hand the school be an aided one, the above scale is to be cut down to one half. No school fees are to be taken in free-schools, and in aided schools they are to be arranged between the managers and the committee. Industrial and night schools may be also assisted.

But where is the money to come from? "In the City of London, out of the consolidated rate; in the parishes and districts formed by the union of parishes under the Metropolis Management Act, 1855, out of the general rate leviable under that act; in boroughs, out of the borough fund or rate; in places under the jurisdiction of a local Board out of the general district rate; in places under the Improvement Commissioners,

&c., out of the rate leviable by them; in unions out of the union rate. The money provided for building a new school would be charged on the parish in which the school was situated. This expense might be spread over any number of years not exceeding thirty, and the school committee might borrow money on the security of the school fund. Where the expense in providing and fitting up such school exceeded 200*l.*, half the cost would be chargeable on the owners of the rateable property. Provision is made for the audit of the accounts of every school committee."

Such, in bare outline, is Mr. Bruce's Bill. We can see no merit in it except that of providing sufficient funds without letting the ratepayers feel precisely the specific burden laid upon them. In other respects, it is but a confirmation and perpetuation of the present bad system. It is vexatiously peddling in its interference. It leaves scarcely any freedom to the district committee. It initiates no new principle. It gives almost despotic power to the Committee of Council, and it will have the effect of putting the whole education of the country practically in the hands of the clergy and ministers. We sincerely hope the Bill will not be carried. A reformed Parliament will surely do something better than this.

THE RATEPAYING CLAUSES.

Now that Mr. Disraeli has apparently got nearly to the end of his tether, and is finding the pills recommended by him for the Irish earthquake returned on his hands, we almost hesitate to condemn very severely the charlatan nostrums that make up his policy, and which have been rejected by anticipation. But quackery is quackery; and it's no use to call it by another name. It is easy enough to forget a little artifice for the sake of securing so great a public benefit as a broad Reform Bill. But that boon is proving as little acceptable to its recipients as was the Nessus' shirt to Hercules. The new Premier's Reform euthanasia is mobs of people in all our large towns angrily protesting against a gift which has uprooted convenient social arrangements, and summonses issued by wholesale against the poor creatures who, in hard times, are called upon to vindicate Mr. Disraeli's "sacred principle" by the payment of higher rents or vexatious rates. To many thousands the portals of the Constitution which they have been invited to enter are lined by bailiffs and policemen, and their patriotic desire to enjoy the privileges of the British Constitution is checked by fines and increased rents.

It is true that the abolition of compound householding was not exclusively Mr. Disraeli's handiwork. But though proposed by Mr. Hodgkinson, a Liberal, and hastily accepted by the House of Commons, it was assented to in order to make the Government, proposal of household suffrage a real and not a delusive concession. A social wrong was inflicted in order to mend a bad Reform Bill, and rescue the House of Commons from a desperate political exigency. But in whatever quarter the blame mainly lies, in the Parliamentary boroughs where compound householding has ceased, Mr. Disraeli's ratepaying clauses are proving to be an intolerable grievance, the hardship of which is only beginning to be felt in the 150 towns affected by it. The question was raised on Friday night in the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll, who described the ratepaying principle as having created disputes between landlord and tenants, led in some cases to an increase of rents, in others to wholesale summonses for rates, and thrown the municipal system of finance into inextricable confusion. The rates of small houses have heretofore been paid by the owners, by arrangement with the local authorities, and included in the rent. Under the new system the occupant is assessed, and is, in a large number of cases, required to pay the same rent *plus* the poor-rate.

How Mr. Disraeli's notable invention is working is already too familiar to the public. In Hackney there has been nearly a riot by the thousands of indignant poor occupiers who have been summoned for non-payment of the rates. Similar scenes have been witnessed at Birmingham. At Salford, Warrington, Leeds, and other towns summonses have been issued by the thousand. Town-halls are at stated times crowded with defaulters, the time of magistrates is taken up in hearing their piteous pleas for exemption, overseers are perplexed and discouraged at the inevitable loss of the rates, and anger and exasperation are being aroused in every town where Mr. Disraeli's "sacred principle" is being carried out. The hardship too is not confined to those who wish to secure a vote. It is felt by all, female as well as male occupiers, poor widows and spinsters—there are

6,000 thus affected in Leeds alone—and by artisans careless about the suffrage, who happen to have previously been under the compounding system.

But then Mr. Disraeli has pleaded the ancient practice of granting the franchise to those who paid the rates as a justification for his new scheme. However that may have been, the true principle of the British Constitution is that those who pay taxes shall have a vote in the election of those who impose the taxes. What relation there is between local rates and a Parliamentary vote, we never could discover, seeing that these imposts are laid not by the House of Commons but by the local authorities. The principle too is entirely discarded in the county qualification, and ignored in respect to the lodger franchise. The net result from a political point of view was well described by the Duke of Argyll in his speech on Friday night:—"It was simply this—that the country had household suffrage, qualified by both taxation and vexation, and nothing more. In boroughs where political feeling was keen, the rates of the poorer classes of tenants would be paid for them, and their names would be placed *en masse* on the register, while, on the other hand, in boroughs where the landlords did not choose to exercise any political influence, they would not take steps to have their tenants placed on the rate-book." Thus in addition to the social evils of the Premier's plan, it is adapted, if not intended, to become a powerful engine of political corruption and intrigue. It will be a golden chance for the "residuum"—that loose section of the population most open to the temptations of bribery and coercion.

Lord Chancellor Cairns is obliged to admit that great hardship and confusion have been caused by the ratepaying qualification, and he can only recommend patience and a fair trial. Mr. Ayrton has obtained a committee to inquire into the assessment and collection of Poor-rates and other local rates and taxes in England and Wales, and the Poor-law Board has also commenced an investigation. But surely so manifest and oppressive a grievance, affecting the welfare of no less than half a million of the population, does not need all this inquiry. To suit its own purposes, and in that spirit of blundering legislation which is so often exhibited, the House of Commons has created hardship and misery in all our large boroughs, destroyed a convenient social arrangement, and mulcted the municipal treasuries of a large annual sum through unpaid rates—and all this in the name of what is ostentatiously pronounced to be a valuable boon to a deserving population! Why should this widespread evil be left to fester and irritate till a new Parliament has been chosen? The ratepaying delusion has served its purpose. Household suffrage is conceded beyond recall, and the same House which last year inflicted a grievous social wrong ought promptly to repair it by repealing or at least greatly modifying these obnoxious ratepaying clauses, and allowing the Parliamentary franchise to be exercised by borough householders apart from the payment of a purely municipal tax.*

PUBLIC OPINION.†

I PROPOSE to record a few stray thoughts about public opinion—that mysterious monarch to whom we all bow so reverently,—at whose bidding we do such queer things, and cheerfully offer so many affronts to our common-sense. Public opinion is great, and Mrs. Grundy is its prophet. Like Boodh it is immense, impersonal, invisible; but it has its avatars, and speaks through the mouth of this, that, and the other, Buddha. Its voice is heard in the editorial "we," and in the vague rumours of "what people say." Its trade-mark is "on dit in a circle." Spenser called it the Blatant Beast, and was rude to it. In these days it is a little god.

How is it that we pay such regard to public opinion? We can resist the opinions of individuals, but when they come upon us in the mass, with all their ghostly dignity of adoption by "society," it requires an effort on our part not to cringe. Some opinion that we think false and worthless offers itself to us, and we snub it; but it goes forth and get itself endorsed all over with illegible names, and returns flourishing them as a Pharisee his phylacteries, and insisting upon being cashed at once.

There is a flavour of superstition here. It is the

* It will be seen that the subject was discussed on Thursday night on the motion of Mr. White, and a prospect held out that the select committee would speedily report on the subject, so that some legislation might be attempted this session.

† We have pleasure in giving insertion to this paper, though, contrary to custom, not cast into an impersonal form.—Ed. Noncon.

same set of nerves that thrill to a ghost-story and vibrate so sensitively to public opinion. We hear it as a voice out of the darkness, and we endue the message with some of those clouds of awe with which, according to the rule of "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico*," we clothe everything that is unknown. It is by virtue of a true instinct that newspaper-writers adhere to the unsigned leaders and anonymous letters, which sound to the reader like a chant repeated in chorus by the voice of an assenting multitude unseen. It may be a very insignificant person who is blowing at the little end of the horn; but we stand in front of the big mouth of the thing, and tremble in our shoes at the blast.

Public opinion sways us through certain very well-defined penalties. Law is a cipher without its sanctions; and the law of the popular voice, whether based on absolute justice and the very rights of things or not, has its scourge for the disobedient. For many of us our daily bread is dependent on a decent harmony with the modes and fashions of the world, and proper deference to its current maxims. And all are thus dependent in regard to the genialities of social intercourse, and in regard to that respect and approbation from without us which seem so needful to keep alive the light of self-respect and self-approval within.

We rightly, therefore, doubt the good sense of the man who opposes himself to public opinion without sufficient reason. In dress, for instance, I may have views as distinct as unfavourable upon the chimney-pot hat, or the swallow-tailed coat, beheld in the light of the eternal unchangeable principles of beauty. But until public opinion permits me, I shall do well meekly to wear that painful cylinder on my head. It may leave a sanguinary rim on my forehead which would set the mouth of a red Indian a watering for my scalp. I may have to follow it in a race through mud in one of those moments of unspeakable humiliation when my soaring spirit has to bend itself to the ignoble pursuit, not merely of a creature without a reasoning soul, but of a thing without any soul at all—nothing but a lining! All this let me patiently endure.

In social life, and where no principle is involved, I sedulously avoid the spatula of public opinion. I humbly inquire what I am to do, and do it to the best of my ability. My tailor has general instructions to apply public opinion to my outward man. When the prescribed garments come home, I put them on, and in the mirror survey myself attired in the uniform of public opinion. If we are married we are immediately arrested by this same despot. His Majesty used to require gentlemen to go down on one knee when they popped the question, as if the question was very heavy and could not be steadily discharged in any other way. At the present time he has graciously remitted that sentence. Still, however, are we called to observe our melancholy wedding-breakfasts. Still does the bridegroom gasp out his speech, and still do the afflicted groomsman pump up their compliments. And then, reflect a moment on the number of bachelors and spinsters condemned to walk their solitary course through life for want of the "property qualification" required by the social autocrat as a ticket for respectable matrimony. But what a sphere for solemn meditation on the power of public opinion is given in the funeral obsequies of the "respectable." Contemplate the seedy men mounting guard with besoms veiled in black, on either side of the doorway of the house of mourning. Observe the hearse with its decoration of chubby cherubs—lively images of the souls of good little niggers—they are so powerfully and glossily black. Remark the staggering feather idols on the top of the hearse, bobbing their fat fluffy arms and nodding violently in tipsy recognition of another corpse. And when the funeral is over, how carefully do the Scribes and Pharisees, who know the law, regulate the width, quantity, quality, and duration of the sable garb which is considered to be the only correct "outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace" of woe. But I must turn away from this tempting theme, having just culled a flower or too in the vast garden of social rules, maxims, axioms, and customs; for the statutes of public opinion in respect of eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, walking, talking, dressing, and behaving, living, dying, and being buried, are indeed statutes at large.

In many of these matters the course insisted upon by public opinion is as legitimate as any other, and we are wise not to go to war on so trifling an issue.

But, public opinion meddles with everything; and lays its hand upon us in respect of matters in which we ought to allow no interference with our sovereign

right, and peremptory duty, to form our *private* opinion, and to follow it out to its logical consequences in action. When consciousness of right and wrong begins to stir within us, then public opinion is ousted of its jurisdiction. Our conscience and our manhood cry, "hands off." We can refer to it no longer, without treason to our higher nature. The branches, twigs, and leaves of a tree may wave in the gale, and they are only the more lovely for their waving; but the trunk must not bend. We must brace ourselves to disregard the popular decree, and brave the penalty. The arrogance of public opinion is such, that there is no sacred place,—no adytum of the temple,—into which it will not force its way, and essay to model all things after its own likeness. Possibly we of this century, feel a glow of comfortable self-complacency, on looking back to times when public opinion hallowed cats and crocodiles in Egypt, or insisted on the divinity of the reigning Cæsar at Rome, or connived at diabolical tortures inflicted by the Inquisition upon men who disagreed with the monstrous spiritual assumptions and theological dogmas of their rulers,—or called in the gaoler to maintain the revolution of the sun round the earth, or played a thousand other fantastic tricks to make the angels weep. But are we now so free from this arrogant intermeddling? By no means. Still do bodies of men meet in the plenitude of their usurped power, and prescribe what we are to believe. Social ostracism and deprivation of valuable birthrights, even fine and imprisonment, are still freely resorted to by dominant ecclesiastical bodies, who would fain cram their opinions down the throats of their fellow-citizens, as an Oriental host takes up out of the dish with his fingers little greasy balls of food and plumps them into the gullet of his guest. And it is at the peril of that guest's reputation that he declines the doubtful boon. Woe to Dissenters and schismatics! Well, let the woe come. Remember Socrates, who bearded public opinion, stood to his dissent, and quietly drank his hemlock—we speak not here of a greater Nonconformist than he—and do battle for the sacred rights of your individual faith and conscience. Suffer no man and no body of men, whatever proud assumptions they emblazon on their banners, to absorb your personal identity. God alone has the right to dominate your spirit.

And here let us brace ourselves with the recollection that public opinion, however big it looks, is only some one's private opinion puffed into superficial magnitude by the lungs of a clamorous crowd,—just as the little gutta-percha heads sold in toy-shops can be blown out into monsters terrifying to look upon. Bear in mind the fable of the emperor's new clothes. You remember that two impostors came to court who averred that they could make garments which would be invisible to any one who was stupid or unfit for his office. The emperor ordered some. His Ministers went from time to time to see and report progress. They saw (as the very truth was) two men pretending to weave at empty looms; but fearing the consequences of their confessing their inability to perceive the new clothes, they praised them mightily. His Majesty went, and also, with trepidation, admired and eulogised. The day came for a public procession. The emperor pretended to get into the new clothes, and the pages affected to take up the train. At length a child exclaimed, "But the emperor has nothing on!" "Hear the voice of innocence," said the father; and the note of truth was caught up, and all found heart to echo, "He has nothing on!" That was a famous case of public opinion. As soon as a babe pricked the swollen ball it collapsed into the feebleness of an acknowledged lie. I pray you, if anything in this land of ours seems to you to be naked and deformed, although multitudes fall down and adore it, charge it boldly in the name of truth.

Public opinion is as frequently mere prejudice as private opinion is, and in all important matters it is our privilege and duty to sift it and exercise the inalienable right of private judgment, which is as inseparable from man as his free-will. A man cannot cast off on others, however willing they may be to accept the burden, his responsibility for his belief or his duty to promulgate it. Your treasures of truth you must scatter. "He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him." A man might as well try to realise Sydney Smith's suggestion of "taking off his flesh, and sitting in his bones," as devolve upon any created being his duty to seek for and maintain the truth. What are we to think of men who gulp their political opinions from their favourite newspaper or club; and make a wide mouth, like little callow birds in a nest, to bolt their religious opinions from their Church or their minister? They are men

who shirk the obligation and forfeit the glory of helping to propel the world "adown the ringing grooves of change," and are ignobly tossed and spun and whirled along with it,—mere driftwood in the stream, and thistle-down in the gale.

We may long for an infallible guide in our perplexities, but none appears. Those who advertise their infallibility, and mount their brass-plate, and mimic the Eternal Wisdom by crying, "Ho! ye simple, turn in hither," have been tried and found to be quacks, howsoever brilliantly mitred and tiaraed. We cannot save ourselves the trouble, the care, the doubt, the effort of inquiry, and judgment, and choice; and to resign ourselves, once for all, into the hands of a party or a sect, or a Church, or a coterie—is merely to take, once for all, such a frightful leap of private judgment, that we are stunned for ever, and nothing further is possible.

May it not be that in the very conflict of opinion from which we so long to be delivered, and from which many obtain a spurious salvation by a suicide of their right of private judgment, lies a noble nourishment for our spiritual nature, and that the conflict is a blessing, not a curse? Furthermore, observe that, whether in the sphere of religion or politics, or science, out of the discord of opposing creeds is at length evolved a form so lovely and so clearly divine, emerging from the currents and tides of opinion as the Goddess of Beauty was fabled to have arisen out of the vexed and restless ocean; that conflict is hushed, and all acknowledge "This is Truth!" and bow the knee adoring.

If all men had weakly surrendered the prerogative of private judgment, it is true the world might have been spared much polemic rage and not a few fires of martyrdom; but we might still have been amused by astrology instead of ennobled by astronomy; feeding our imaginations with alchemy, instead of discovering the laws of chemical affinity; burning witches, reverencing lazy monks, opening eyes of credulous wonder at winking Madonnas, and liquifying blood of St. Januarius; protecting ourselves against foreign corn, legislating what men should have for dinner, and doing a thousand absurd things which are now torn into rags, and blown down the wind, thanks to the gales of controversy, which have whisked away so much nonsense, and are working away at so much more.

Aware of the power of public opinion for good or evil, and recognising its enormous momentum—irresistible by souls of deficient vitality and feeble individualism, it is our duty to contribute our earnest endeavours towards its right formation, and to take heed that our share, however small, of the mighty *vox populi*, be the truest echo we can render of what our consciences have in their privacy received as the *vox Dei*.

Great is the power of the individual who keeps the facets and angles of his characteristic crystals unmelted and unworn. To how many solitary men can we point whose voices—feeble at first and lonely—have been caught, and echoed, and chorussed till the sky rang again? Such distinction is not likely to be our lot. We may not have the message, the faith, the energy of Luther, or Knox, or Milton, or Wesley, or Wilberforce; but I think few are aware how much influence in the formation of public opinion is within the reach of any one amongst us who resolves to be true to himself and to God—to be conscientious in judgment and fearless in utterance. It is the duty of each one to be active, not passive; and to strive to impress his individualism upon the thoughts and deeds of his age.

Foreign and Colonial.

FRANCE.

The pamphlet announced some days since upon the titles of the Napoleonic dynasty, and believed to owe its origin to a semi-official source, has been published. It draws a parallel between Napoleon I. and his nephew, who, it says, "have both drawn France from abysses, and have been hailed three times as her saviours. Thirty millions of approving votes, signed by French people,—those are the titles of the Napoleonic dynasty." The pamphlet then continues:—

At a time when that constitution which has been a fundamental fact between the people and the Emperor becomes the object of more or less overt attacks, and the aim of all combined oppositions, it has seemed to us advisable to bring it again before the public eye, and to recall the circumstances under which it arose.

The writer affirms that if the bases of the constitution are fixed, and if they cannot be modified without a popular vote, the character of the constitution in itself implies progressive amelioration, and is capable of improvement. This has been proved by the decree of November 24, 1860, and by the Emperor's letter of January 19, 1867. After

enumerating the various great measures that have formed the halting points of the Emperor's Government upon the Liberal path into which it has entered, the pamphlet says that, taken together, these measures are, so to speak, the flanks of the constitution, which adapts itself to every movement of liberty and which has proved in that respect a novelty as daring as it has been productive of happy results. The publication of the Constitution of 1852 and other documents concludes the pamphlet.

The disturbances at Toulouse, in connection with the revision of the lists for the National Guard Mobile, appear to have been much more serious than officially reported in the *Moniteur*. The demonstration was very enthusiastic, and, in addition to the *Marseillaise*, cries against the Government were uttered. For one entire day the city was given up to disorder, which the authorities were either unable or unwilling to check. It was not till midnight, when a large military force of all arms was in possession of all the principal posts of the city, including the bridges over the Garonne, that order was quite restored. Still further reinforcements of troops are to be sent to that town. Among the six persons arrested is said to be a very old offender, who has been convicted no less than fifteen times of robberies, acts of rebellion, and vagabondage. This appears to be the only foundation for the statement of the *Moniteur* that the *émeute* was entirely raised by such persons. Disturbances only less serious than those at Toulouse have taken place at Nantes, Montauban, and Albi, and from the same cause, the dislike of the working population to the operations of the councils of revision for the National Guard Mobile.

The general discussion on the Public Meetings Bill was closed on Saturday. An amendment, to authorise the absolute right to hold meetings outside the public thoroughfares, was rejected, after a long discussion, being opposed by the Government, and the first article of the bill was adopted. In reply to M. Jules Simon, M. Rouher expressed himself in the following terms:—

The right of meeting such as you desire would be the re-establishment of clubs. The country can remember the sanguinary agitation which resulted from those institutions. The Government is afraid, you say. Yes, it is so, if you so interpret its patriotic solicitude for the preservation of the tranquillity and prosperity of the country. The Government is desirous of maintaining that peace which it alone has assured. You fancy that you represent progress; you only represent a worn-out, antiquated, vanquished opinion. You are behindhand in the darkest pages of our history. (Loud applause.)

The Chamber has been discussing the various articles, and on Wednesday had reached the fifteenth.

ITALY.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies is still engaged in discussing the financial proposals of the Government. It refused to defer the debate on the grinding tax, but it agreed to reserve its final decision until after the other financial measures have been discussed. The Ministry accepted the order of the day moved by Signor Minghetti, inviting it to present within a month, a bill to effect certain savings and modifications, which will produce a gain of one million francs to the Treasury in the budget of 1869.

An interesting ceremony took place at Rome on Monday. The Pope held a public consistory, at which the six new Cardinals took the oaths and received their hats. Cardinal Bonaparte received the title of Saint Pudentius. The elevation of an ecclesiastic bearing the name of Bonaparte is an event of historical significance.

It is stated from Rome that "the Pope has refused all the proposals of the French Government touching a *modus vivendi* between the Holy See and Italy."

The health of the Pope continues to excite some anxiety. His Holiness is stated to have had several epileptic attacks recently, some of which have left him in a very prostrate condition for several days.

A letter from Rome, in the *Italie* of Florence, says:—"The Pontifical army is losing in solidity what it is gaining in numerical importance by the arrival of reinforcements. Not fewer than a hundred and twelve desertions have taken place in the Legion of Antibes, Zouaves, Carbineers, or Artillery, within the last twenty days."

AUSTRIA.

The refusal of the Court of Rome to accede to any modification of the Concordat in Austria, in accordance with the system of constitutional government adopted throughout the Austrian Empire, has failed in its immediate object, and has resulted in the independent action of the Imperial Government. The protest of M. l'Abbé Greuta in the Reichsrath against the proclamation of liberty of conscience in Austria, elicited from M. Herbst the declaration that the Government had felt itself obliged, with reference to the laws of marriage and the regulation of schools, to pursue a liberal and enlightened policy. The adoption of these measures is said to have given great displeasure at Rome. Cardinal Rauscher has published at Vienna a pamphlet entitled, "Marriage and the Second Chapter of Civil Legislation," and in which the new practice of performing that ceremony by the municipal authorities is severely attacked. Eighty members of the Upper House have held a meeting at which they unanimously decided to vote for the adoption of the Civil Marriage Bill.

The labours of the Hungarian Delegation are now at an end, with the exception of the appointment of special delegates for arranging the points upon which the decisions of the Austrian and Hungarian Delegations are at variance. The Budget Committee of

the Reichsrath Delegation have agreed to the decisions of the Hungarian Delegation on the greater number of the points upon which they were at variance.

It is stated that the Minister of Justice will shortly submit to the Reichsrath a bill for the introduction of trial by jury, which shall be first applied in press trials.

AMERICA.

The Senate of the United States sat on Friday as a High Court of Impeachment in the proceedings against the President, and the ex-Attorney-General, Judges Black, Nelson, and Curtis, and the Hon. W. M. Ewart appeared as counsel for the defendant. The telegram is silent as to the nature of the proceedings, but we may infer that the President has decided to acknowledge the legality of the Court, and that the defence, therefore, will be on the merits. The Court ordered the President to file his answers to the articles of impeachment on or before the 23rd, after which it adjourned to that day, when the trial will be proceeded with.

By the ordinary advice, we learn that the Senate was organised as a Court of Impeachment on the 5th instant. Chief Justice Chase, who presides, and all the Senators, took an oath to do President Johnson impartial justice. Senator Hendrick, a Democrat, objected to Mr. Wade having a voice in the trial on the ground that he was directly interested in the result. After a debate, the objection was withdrawn, and Mr. Wade was sworn. The managers of the impeachment in the House of Representatives formally demanded that President Johnson should put in an appearance. The Senate, in response, ordered the President to be summoned to appear on the 13th March, until when the Court adjourned. The House authorised the impeachment managers to summon witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony.

The articles of impeachment are nine in number, and charge the following offences against the President, only his acts in connection with the attempted removal of Stanton being embraced in the charges:—

1. Issuing on the 21st of February an order for the removal of Edwin M. Stanton from the War-office, in violation of the "Tenure of Office Act," and the Constitution.
2. On the same day appointing Lorenzo Thomas Secretary of War, *ad interim*, in violation of the same law.
3. Appointing Lorenzo Thomas Secretary of War *ad interim* while the Senate was in session and without its advice and consent, in violation of the Constitution, no vacancy having occurred in said office during the recess of the Senate, and there being no vacancy existing at that time.
4. Conspiring with one Lorenzo Thomas and with other persons unknown to the House, to hinder Edwin M. Stanton from holding the office of Secretary of War, in violation of the "Conspiracy Act," passed July 31, 1861.
5. Conspiring with one Lorenzo Thomas and others to hinder and prevent the execution of the "Tenure of Office Act," and in pursuance of this conspiracy attempting to prevent Edwin M. Stanton from holding the office of Secretary of War.
6. Conspiring with one Lorenzo Thomas, to seize, take, and possess by force the property of the United States in the War Department, in violation of the "Conspiracy Act," and the "Tenure of Office Act."
7. The same as 6, but the offence is charged as a violation of the "Tenure of Office Act" only.
8. That the President, with the intent unlawfully to control the disbursements of money appropriated for the military service, and in violation of the "Tenure of Office Act" and the Constitution, appointed Lorenzo Thomas Secretary of War *ad interim*.
9. That the President, on February 22, in disregard of the Constitution and laws, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, instructed General Emory, in command of Washington, that the part of the law of March 2nd, 1867, which provides that "all orders and instructions relating to military operations issued by the President or Secretary of War shall be issued through the General of the army (Grant), and in case of his inability, through the next in rank," was unconstitutional, and not binding on Emory as an army officer, with intent to induce him to violate said law, and obey such orders as the President might give, without issuing them through the General of the army.

The *Times* correspondent adds that Mr. Janckes, of Rhode Island (Republican), unsuccessfully attempted to procure the adoption of an additional article charging the President with an attempt to get control of the military authority of the Government in a mode not in accordance with the Constitution. Now that the impeachment trial may be regarded as begun, says the correspondent, it becomes apparent to the country how weak President Johnson is:—

Three-fourths of his judges are his enemies; eight of the nine charges against him can be proven merely by the submission as evidence of a few official orders, and turn upon the constitutionality of laws that the Senate has time and again pledged itself to maintain; the Democrats, who ought to be his friends, are taking every opportunity, through their newspapers and orators, to declare that as a party they are not responsible for his acts; and the trial, which from present appearances can only result in conviction, is to be hurried at the swiftest speed. The majority of the Senate, as a first step to stripping the President of his power, has determined henceforward to hold no official relations with him; while the majority of Congress, in order to devote every energy to pushing the trial, is meditating upon putting a stop to all legislation while it is in progress. There have been several meetings held in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere to protest against impeachment, but the President seems to be practically without any aid. Stanton is still encamped in the War-office, and Gen. Thomas has sunk

out of sight, excepting as an unwilling witness for the impeachment, in which unfortunate position he will hereafter appear before the Senate, and for which he is to be rewarded by the passage of an act already introduced into the Senate, abolishing his office of Adjutant-General. There is, of course, an intense anxiety to know what effect all this is having upon the country, and the people are waiting for the result of the New Hampshire election, on March 10th, as an indication.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The Ministerial journals at Madrid state that an arrangement has been come to between Spain and Peru.

Canada has adopted a judicious severity with regard to applicants for divorce. They must give notice in the newspapers for six months before their application can be received.

The submarine cable between Calais and Dover has been broken by the recent storm. Communication is kept up through the wires lying between Boulogne and Dieppe.

The German exodus to the United States is likely to take a southern direction. There are already 1,400 berths taken at Bremen for the steamers that are bound for Baltimore.

The death is announced of Mr. C. J. Anderson, the well-known South African traveller, which took place near Ovamba Land, bordering on the Portuguese territories.

The Prince Imperial has just celebrated his twelfth birthday. He is the first heir-apparent to the French throne who for nearly a century has lived to be so old in that character.

It is said that Ludwig II. of Bavaria meditates abdication. If his intention is carried out, the throne will devolve on his brother Otho, a young man of twenty, who has hitherto paid no attention to politics.

The British Government have, it is said, resolved to send out Mr. Angelo, the African traveller, to the Somali country, to inquire into the alleged existence of British captives there, and provided with means with which, if possible, to effect their liberation.

The Nudda correspondent of the *Grampian* reports that "a man in the village of Kumalapur, in order to preserve his race, married his daughter of six months old to a man of twenty-five years of age. She is now a widow at a year and a half."

THE LAST OF THE POLISH KINGDOM.—The last number of the official journal of Warsaw contains a long decree relative to passports for foreign countries, in which the words kingdom of Poland are replaced by those of "Governments of the Vistula." The *New Free Press* of Vienna also publishes a telegram from Warsaw announcing that the official suppression of the title of the kingdom of Poland is definitely resolved on.

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS AT JERUSALEM.—In consequence of the reported persecution of the Jews at Jerusalem, Count Bismarck is stated to have telegraphed to the Minister of the North German Bund at Constantinople to inquire into the matter. The North German Consul proceeded to Jerusalem, and procured the release of Rabbi Ayeh from confinement, and at the same time removed the Prussian consular representative from his post.

DR. NORMAN MACLEOD'S FLYING VISIT TO INDIA.—We are glad to learn that the report of Dr. Macleod's illness in India was much exaggerated. Dr. Macleod had suffered only from a slight attack of dysentery, from which he had completely recovered before leaving India for Europe, as by latest advices he had done, in a Government steamer. Dr. Macleod is to spend some time in Italy on his way home; and Mrs. Macleod has left Glasgow for London en route to meet her husband in Italy, according to previous arrangement.—*Scotsman*.

THE PRINCIPALITIES.—The officers who were sent by the Austrian Government a short time ago to the districts of the Lower Danube for the purpose of obtaining accurate information regarding the military preparations made in those districts, have reported that the countries in that quarter are all busily occupied in increasing their armaments. In Servia everything is now ready for a long campaign. A considerable number of guns are stored in the arsenals, a volunteer force has been organised on the Landwehr system, and the army is amply provided with arms, ammunition, and war materiel of all kinds.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE NEW PARIS PREACHER.—The preacher of Paris, now that Father Hyacinthe has gone to Rome, is Monsignor Bauer, a converted German Jew. Monsignor Bauer has been lucky enough to please the Empress, and through her influence a pulpit in the Madeleine has been placed at his disposal. He preaches in that church twice a week, on Thursday and on Sunday, and he so times his sermon as not to prevent his hearers from enjoying their usual drive in the Bois. His frame and his voice are powerful, his language is idiomatic, sometimes almost coarse, and yet he is a great favourite with the upper classes. This is not singular; these poor people very often get nauseated of refinement, polish, the "prunes" and the "prisms," which, it must be remembered, are daily dishes with them, and long for rougher, flavours, if only for a change. Monsignor Bauer in the pulpit—Mademoiselle Thérèse on the stage.—*Correspondent of the Daily News*.

A PROTEST AGAINST THE NORTH AMERICAN CONFEDERATION.—The local Legislature of Nova Scotia has prepared a petition to the House of Commons, praying for a repeal of so much of the act of last session as relates to that province. A deputation, charged with the task of obtaining the presentation

of the petition, and urging its views, has already arrived in London. The members of the deputation are—Mr. Joseph Howe, member of the Dominion Parliament; Mr. Armand, President of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia; Mr. Troof, and Mr. W. H. Smith, the two latter members of the local Legislature. The petition repeats the old reasons for objection to the union, reinforced, however, and emphasised by the unmistakable results of the general election of last year. The petitioners plead that they do not desire to be united with Canada; that it does not suit them to be compelled to send delegates 800 miles away across a wilderness to the Dominion Parliament; that they object to the protective tendencies of Canada; that the union practically strips them of self-government, robs them of the control of their trade, their fisheries, their banking system, their militia, their courts and criminal law, their revenues—in fact, that they are opposed on every ground, and irrevocably, to the confederation scheme, and only want to get out of it.

HORRIBLE RESULTS OF FAMINE.—The *Echo d'Oran* has the following:—"No historical famine has presented to the saddened eyes of humanity so horrible a spectacle as that which is at the present moment to be observed among the Arabs. Two days ago a native woman, in the neighbourhood of Misserghia, killed her daughter, twelve years of age, and gave the flesh to her other children, and partook of it herself! The legal authorities, hearing of the circumstance, at once proceeded to the spot, and on entering the hut occupied by these cannibals, learnt that the heart, the liver, and the interior portions of the corpse were eaten, because they would not keep. The mother was occupied in salting the flesh, cut up into pieces, exactly as is done with pork." The *Evénement* gives the following picture of the frightful situation of Finland, where the population is decimated by famine:—"Every day," writes the clergyman of a parish, "more than fifty peasants present themselves at my house completely exhausted by hunger, imploring bread for themselves and their families, who for some time have been living on moss, hay, and the bark of the fir. This frightful famine is far from being local, as the whole of this province is suffering under it. The last resources are exhausted, and the population has no other alternative than to eat hay and straw or to die of starvation."

Crimes and Casualties.

Miles Weatherill, the Todmorden murderer, was indicted at the Manchester Assizes on Friday for the wilful murder of Jane Smith. The frightful circumstances have been too recently reported to need repetition in this place. One of the witnesses for the prosecution was Sarah Elizabeth Bell, the girl for whom the prisoner had conceived so violent an affection as to lead him to these terrible crimes. She appeared to be suffering very much from dejection of spirits. The prisoner's counsel, Mr. Torr, directed his cross-examination to the witnesses with a view to elicit answers implying that he was insane, and in subsequently addressing the jury urged the very atrocity of the crime as a reason for doubting the responsibility of its perpetrator. Mr. Justice Lush, in summing up, said the only question for the jury was whether, when the prisoner committed the murder, he was legally answerable for what he did. The law authorities on the subject of insanity in such cases were clear. Those authorities said that the jury should be told in all cases that every man charged with murder is presumed to be sane till the contrary is proved to their satisfaction, before they could acquit the prisoner on the ground of insanity; and at the time of his committing the murder it must be shown he did not know the quality of the act which he was committing—in other words, that he did not know right from wrong. The jury, after two minutes' consultation, returned a verdict of guilty. His lordship, in sentencing the prisoner, said it would have been a deplorable thing if the jury had come to any other verdict, for there was nothing in the evidence of the prisoner's manner or life to lead them to give any other verdict than that which they had come to. His lordship passed sentence of death in the usual form. The judge ordered that 5*l.* should be given to Elizabeth Spink, and 2*l.* 10*s.* to Mary Hodgson, in recognition of their gallant conduct. The prisoner throughout the trial appeared unmoved by the evidence or any circumstance in connection with it. On being asked, before sentence of death was passed upon him, if he had anything to say, he looked at some notes of the evidence he had made and held in his hand, but made no reply. When the judge came to the close he said, "And I say it in all sincerity, may the Lord have mercy upon you!"

In our last we mentioned that the Rev. A. J. Plow, vicar of Todmorden, who was so violently attacked by Weatherill, had died of the injuries received in the struggle. His remains were interred on Wednesday. The weather was very boisterous, showers of hail and rain falling. Notwithstanding, many hundreds of persons assembled in the churchyard and the roads adjoining. In the procession were some of the Dissenting ministers of the town, and in the church many clergy and Dissenting ministers who did not join in the procession. The tradesmen closed their shops for two hours. Mrs. Plow is much better, and was able to leave her bed on Tuesday morning.

At the Maidstone Assizes on Friday two men, named Partridge and Deadman, charged with murdering a woman named Jackson and putting her down a well at Bromley, were put upon their trial. The defence was that the night being dark

and stormy, and the woman being directed to an outhouse to sleep, the path of which ran beside the well, she had fallen in accidentally. The jury took this view of the case, and acquitted the prisoners.

At the Bedford Assizes on Monday a man named Worsley was sentenced to death for the murder of William Bradbury, a labourer, at Luton, on the 3rd of August last. The murdered man had been robbed of about 28*s.* in money, and a bundle of clothes. Worsley at first turned approver against Welch, an accomplice, but when Welch was accused, he offered better evidence against Worsley, and in this strange competition for the approvership Welch won, and Worsley was put on his trial.

On Friday a lad named Wilkins, thirteen years of age, was murdered and mutilated by a man named Holmes, at Winscombe, Somerset. The murderer is the son of a retired Irish officer. He knocked the lad down, and nearly severed his head from his body with a knife. His motive for the deed is not known. The murderer, who is committed for trial, says, "he felt he must kill some one, and it was a great wonder to him how it was he had not killed more, as he passed several persons on the road." Medical evidence showed that, although the prisoner was of weak intellect, yet he was a responsible being, and accountable for his actions.

The Rev. Henry Christmas, well known as a writer and lecturer, has died in an apoplectic fit which came on as he was riding in a cab. Recently Mr. Christmas had changed his name to that of Noel Fearn. He was lately Librarian and Secretary of Sion College, afterwards elected Professor of English History and Archaeology to the Royal Society of Literature, and was for some years lecturer at St. Peter's Church, Cornhill.

On Saturday an inquest was held by Dr. Lankester on the body of Lady Tichborne, who died very suddenly two days previously at her residence in London. The facts of the romance connected with the Tichborne baronetcy will be in the recollection of our readers. A person recently came over from Australia and claimed the title and estates as the long-lost heir-at-law, and the deceased lady owned him as her eldest son. The other members of the family, however, deny his identity, and are now disputing his claim in the law courts. At the inquest on Saturday, the claimant made the startling statement that one of his servants had been offered 1,000*l.* to "put him out of the way," expressing at the same time an opinion that the death of the lady he calls his mother was the result of foul play, her death having necessarily an important bearing on the legal dispute as to his claim. The medical evidence, however, showed that death had resulted from disease of the heart, and the jury found a verdict to that effect.

A domestic servant, thirty years of age, slipped upon a piece of orange-peel while hastening to catch an omnibus in Liverpool, and broke her leg. The limb was amputated, but she died.

An inquest was on Monday held on the body of a young woman, whose death was attributed to the fright caused by the Clerkenwell explosion. At the time of the explosion she was living near the prison, and *enroute*. A few days ago she had a premature delivery of a still-born child. Her sufferings were very great, and the surgeon declared that her death was to be attributed to the shock to her system caused by the explosion. The jury brought in a verdict in accordance with the medical evidence.

A woman named Francis Kedder, aged twenty-five, was sentenced to death at Maidstone on Thursday for the wilful murder of her step-daughter. The prisoner had shown symptoms of hatred to the deceased, who was about twelve years old, on many occasions; and on the 17th of August last took her out under pretence of going to a fair at New Romney, but returned home at ten o'clock at night wet through, with a statement that she and the deceased had been frightened into a ditch by some horses, and that she had been unable to get the poor girl out. The body of the deceased was found in a ditch, where the water was not more than a foot deep, and there were marks of a struggle on the bank. It also appeared that the prisoner, although bent upon so horrible a purpose, had compelled the poor child to take off her holiday clothes and put on an old ragged frock, besides which, she changed her own dress with a like object. The evidence was so strong that the jury do not appear to have had any difficulty in returning a verdict of wilful murder, and the hard-hearted culprit received her doom with perfect composure.

MR. MURPHY, THE NO-POPERY LECTURER.—Mr. Murphy caused another riot in Rochdale on Saturday, in which there was pistol-firing and a promise of bloodshed, fortunately not fulfilled. Windows and doors were broken, and the police intervened, but happily no one was killed. Meanwhile at Manchester, on the same day, one of his incendiary companions was sentenced to sixteen months' imprisonment with hard labour, for firing a revolver at a policeman at Rochdale, who obstructed the entrance to a lecture-hall. Murphy has been setting up a "Protestant camp" at Rochdale in the Irish quarter. But he has now been stopped. His tent, which he had caused to be erected at Cronkeyshaw Common, nearly opposite Mr. Bright's residence, has been forcibly levelled to the ground, and at a later period of the day he was arrested on a charge of causing tumultuous assemblages in the town. There was a great deal of excitement on Wednesday night. A Roman Catholic place of worship was attacked, and shots were fired.

Literature.

BLACKADER'S BIBLE.*

An immense amount of labour, learning, and ingenuity must have been expended on this edition of the Authorised Version. Its most important characteristic is that, while retaining the familiar divisions of chapter and verse, it divides the whole Bible into paragraphs so numbered as to indicate the chronological order in which the Scriptures were written. Thus, for instance, in the Old Testament, the numbers at the head of each paragraph enable the reader to insert the songs of the Psalter and the "burdens" of the Prophets in their due historical place; and in the New Testament a similar system of numbers indicates the chronological "harmony" of the Gospels and the dates at which the several Epistles were composed. Every reader of the Bible will comprehend how great a help to an intelligent study of the Word such an arrangement yields: it may very safely be affirmed that, unless he is at the pains to read the Scriptures in their historical order, no man can hope to possess himself of the very mind of the Spirit. Nor is this the only aid which Mr. Blackader's edition affords. It sometimes quotes at length, and still oftener indicates by marginal reference, parallel passages which throw new light on the Scripture in hand. To the alternative readings placed in the margin by our translators, it adds many of the better renderings of modern criticism. It prints the poetical books in poetic forms—a change which, though slight and formal, often brings out a new meaning and a new beauty. It supplies a brief historical and critical introduction to every book, and gives a succinct analysis of the logic of the more argumentative books. And all this work—chronological, historical, critical—has been carefully done; great pains have been taken to secure accuracy and completeness: while the results of much conscientious study are presented in brief and ingenious forms. After a careful examination of many passages, we can say that Mr. Blackader has crowded into this bulky volume an amount of accurate information, of learned criticism, of ingenious space-saving devices, which are simply wonderful.

Nevertheless we fear that his laborious endeavour to illustrate the Bible will be of little service, except to men well-nigh as learned, as ingenious, as patient as himself. Those to whom the study of Scripture is the chosen work of life will get much help from him; but the ordinary reader will not, we suspect, be at the pains to master his system of numbers or to use it. Nor can it be expected that an unlearned reader will venture to decide for himself whether or not the better readings offered him in the margin are really better than the familiar readings of the text. Sometimes, indeed—as, for example, in Gen. iv. 7, xlix. 24—Mr. Blackader fails to give the renderings which we hold to be at once most simple and most accurate. But where he does give such renderings, as he very commonly does—Psalm xix. and Isaiah xxviii. offer as good instances as any—we doubt whether any but scholars, who know on what good authority they are based, will feel that they have any right to prefer them. His very purpose and the necessary limits of space compel him to give these renderings curtly, without much, if any, explanation of the reasons which justify them; and he would be a bold man who, ignorant of reasons and authorities, should venture to decide between our authorised translators and their modern critics.

For ourselves we are verily persuaded that all attempts to deal with the whole Bible on the basis of the Authorised Version are a mistake; that they cannot, in the nature of things, be satisfactory, whether to authors or readers. For, first, the Bible is a library rather than a book: and who is competent to deal with a library whose volumes were written at dates so far removed and take literary forms so diversified? We have remarked on the wonderful labour expended on Mr. Blackader's Bible, and hinted that, on the whole, we can endorse his conclusions. And yet, as is inevitable when so large a space is covered, we could point out some scores of passages in which we hold his renderings to be erroneous, and should be glad to hear what he has to urge in their behalf. Had he written on one book, concentrating on that the pains which he has diffused over so many books, he would have produced a more enduring work, and rendered a larger service to the Church. Then, too, it is high time that we had a New Version, and that all competent scholars

should bend their endeavours in that direction. It is of no use, it is simply a wrong to the unlettered to conceal the fact that our translation of the Bible, and especially of the Old Testament Scriptures, is sadly inaccurate and misleading. In these elder Scriptures alone Mr. Blackader has suggested many hundreds of corrected renderings, most of which are corrections. There they lie in the margin for those to adopt who can value them at their worth. But until they are inserted in the text the great bulk of readers will not accept them. The time has not quite come, perhaps, in which a new text would meet general acceptance; but it is coming fast, and the public mind, especially the lay mind, needs to be prepared for it. The best preparation, as it seems to us, would be, not the insertion of new and more accurate renderings in margins in which people will not be at the trouble to look for them, but the publication of commentaries on the separate books of Scripture—commentaries containing new translations, and such an explanation and vindication of them as even the unlearned could follow. To popularise the results of critical and exegetical science, to write commentaries for laymen rather than for scholars and clerics, to let them see how new renderings justify themselves by the light they pour on the dark places of the Word—this appears to be the most pressing task of the time, the work which the Church most urgently demands of those whose learning and piety give them the right to speak. Mr. Blackader, we believe, has that right; we hope he will exercise it. While we recognise the worth of his past contributions to Biblical science, we shall more gladly welcome him when he limits his field of study and cultivates it still more thoroughly.

"TRACTS FOR THE DAY."*

We have already noticed the earlier numbers of this series of tracts, but the publication of the complete volume affords a proper opportunity for directing attention to the special teachings of those which have subsequently appeared, as well as to the general character of the whole. If they prove nothing else, they show that the Ritualistic party have a very definite and coherent system, that they have not given utterance to some hastily adopted opinions, or sought to gratify some passing fancy; but, on the contrary, have worked out certain theological and ecclesiastical principles which they sustain with a power of reasoning which, if their premises were granted, it would not be easy to overthrow, and that nothing can be more absurd than the endeavour of some well-intentioned but very weak people to represent their movement as being mainly the result of æsthetic feeling. Sacerdotalism, of the most pronounced character, the most uncompromising in its demands, the most exalted in its pretensions—Sacerdotalism, thoroughly anti-Protestant in its spirit and teachings, which maintains its allegiance to the Anglican Church because it hopes, by taking advantage of certain expressions in the formularies that favour its views, and defining or explaining away any that have an opposite tendency, the better to secure its own ends—saturates these Tracts from first to last. They are not such easy or attractive reading as some portions of the "Essays on the Church and the World." There is nothing, for example, so sensational as the celebrated "autobiography," or Dr. Littledale's exhibition of the "Missionary Aspect of Ritualism," with its description of the effects to be produced by the "histrionic" style of Christian worship and its recommendations of theatres, music-halls, and Odd Fellows' club-rooms as studies for those who desire to secure a mightier power for Christianity among the people; nothing so trenchant in its criticism of Low-Church practices as Mr. Baring-Gould's vivid sketch of the poor man vainly endeavouring to spell his way through the intricacies of Morning Prayer; while, certainly, there is nothing so keen and incisive as the exposure of "Protestant" inconsistencies in a tract of another series, which seems early to have come to grief, on "Protestantism and the Prayer-book." These, we suppose, were the light brigade, and, in our judgment, were likely to do much more service than the heavier artillery of the volume before us.

For dull and ponderous reading, these tracts certainly are. They are rarely, if ever, enlightened by a solitary gleam of humour, and they, for the most part, lack that pungency which might redeem the wearisome repetitions of their favourite ideas and fine-drawn arguments which fail to convince because you do not recognise the basis on which they rest, from utter dullness. They have, however, the advantage of treating their subject in a more

systematic manner than other publications of the school, and by their boldness and outspokenness enable us better to understand what Sacramentarianism means, and whither it is leading its votaries. The tracts previously noticed discussed the Sacramental scheme in general, and Confession, the Eucharist, Purgatory, and the Real Presence in particular. The last four, of some of which we shall speak more fully now, treat of "Casuistry," "Unction of the Sick," "The Rule of Worship," and "Popular Rationalism." We were promised one on a "High Celebration," but for some reason it is not included in the present volume. Possibly it may be reserved for a second series, for this school may teach Nonconformists a lesson in the evident value which they attach to the press, and their determination to employ it in every possible way for the dissemination of their particular tenets. They seem to have talent and learning of various kinds at command, and to use it with a commendable diligence, which their adversaries would do well to imitate.

The tract on "Casuistry" is designed to point out the difficulties by which the conscience is continually surrounded in the endeavour to discover the true path of duty, and the necessity of its having some help from without to aid in the solution of the perplexing questions by which it is sure, ever and anon, to be harassed. The Tract, after giving two quotations from Bishops Sprat and Stearne, designed, we suppose, to remove any antecedent prejudice to the consideration of the subject, opens, after the customary fashion, with some of those innocent platitudes which are intended to prepare the way gently for the stronger things in store. "Theory is a barren diversion of genius if it does not lead to practice. It is a waste of time and thought, if nothing is to come of theorising. What would be the use of mathematics if they were not applied?" And what—is the inference suggested—the use of moral philosophy, of theories about conscience and the duty without their application in Casuistry? If there has been a prejudice against the attempt to reduce practical ethics to a science "for the assistance of penitents in perplexity, or of their directors in doubt," it has been owing to the abuse to which this science, "like every good gift of God," has been subjected. The Jesuits, in particular, if not very wicked, were certainly very foolish in pressing its conclusions too far, and so drawing down upon themselves the satire of Pascal and the reprobation of all whose minds have not been perverted by priestly subtleties. But there is good in it as well as evil, for our Lord in his discussions with the Pharisees, Himself furnished us with examples of its use. Nothing is more extraordinary in the arguments of these Tracts than the contrast between the meagreness of the alleged Scriptural evidence they adduce and the extent of the conclusions which they base upon it. Our Lord, appealed to in particular cases by the Pharisees, exposed the hypocrisy and falsehood of many of their religious pretensions; the Apostle Paul, in the exercise of a special commission with which he was intrusted, gave certain advice in difficult cases to the Church of Corinth: therefore the New Testament lends its sanction to the casuist, of whom we are here told that "Confession is his special sphere and the nidus of his influence, whether for good or evil." The writers are exceedingly clever in enlarging upon the points which no one would dispute, and quietly insinuating the more difficult ones around which controversy would gather. No one would deny that there are questions of doubt that arise in which a man, preserving the perfect and unfettered liberty of his own conscience, may properly take counsel for his own guidance with men of experience, but it does not follow from this that we need a science of casuistry with priestly professors who, by their skill in its lore, may become directors of the consciences of others.

This is, of course, the point to which all tends. Quoting the passage from Hallam in which, speaking of Casuistical writers, he says that the Church only which retains the power of the Confessional must have permanent dominion over mankind the author fully adopts the statement, and adds, "That is the reason why the knowledge of right and wrong must be more minutely studied, and the use of the Ministry of Reconciliation extended." The preacher is not enough, and as the "Pulpit monopoly is an evil from which we have suffered for many a day," it is necessary now to insist on the necessity for the confessor to finish the work which the preacher only commences. But the "administration of the Sacrament of Confession," cannot be perfected without the aid of Casuistry, and therefore no more important service can be rendered by divines of the Anglican Church than the "formation of a purified school of Casuists."

It is not necessary for us here to enter into

* The English Bible according to the Authorised Version. Newly divided into Paragraphs, &c. By R. B. BLACKADER. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

* Tracts for the Day; Essays on Theological Subjects. By Various Authors. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. London: Longmans.

elaborate refutation of such teaching, and still less of that on the subject of "Unction for the Sick." There are, however, two or three points in the tract which we may note in passing. This sacrament is to have three effects. The direct one is the removal of any remains of sin in the soul. "As baptism is a spiritual regeneration, and confirmation a spiritual strengthening, and communion a spiritual feeding, and penance a spiritual resuscitation from the spiritual sleep or death of sin, so is unction a curing of the spiritual wounds which sin has left in the soul." But beyond this it has the further indirect consequence of removing any mortal sin there may be on a man's soul, which he may have forgotten in his confession, or committed after absolution, or which, possibly, may have existed in the dispositions with which he received absolution and communion. Still further, it may be expected to cure the disease from which the patient is suffering. If this last point could only be established by satisfactory proof, and if it were a constant result, we have no doubt that this would be a most popular sacrament. Unfortunately, no such confidence is expressed. It can manifestly only be in exceptional cases that such a result can be realised; for it is only "when it is expedient for the furtherance of its principal effect"—spiritual healing." Even then it does not always follow, for it may be hindered if "impediment is interposed on the part of the recipient." Nothing can be safer than the assertion of such a claim as this. If the recovery of the patient follows, of course the unction is the cause; if otherwise, it would have followed but for the "imperfect dispositions and weak faith of the sick man." And this is the kind of doctrine which these men expect the intelligence of England in this age of free thought to accept!

It is beautiful, however, to mark how the efficacy of the sacrament at all is made to depend upon proper sacerdotal action, and in its turn to make manifest that the sacerdotal power is derived from the Episcopal, and both from Christ.

"The efficacy of the sacraments descends from Christ, in whom it primarily resides, to His people in a due order. It descends to them by means, that is, through the mediation of His ministers who dispense His sacraments, and to His inferior ministers through the mediation of their rulers whom He has set over them, and who sanctify the matter. In all sacraments, therefore, which require sanctified matter, its first sanctification is effected by the bishop, although its use be in some of them committed to the priest, and this to show that the sacerdotal power is derived from the episcopal, according to the Psalm:—It is like the precious ointment upon the Head, that is, Christ, that (first) ran down unto the beard, even unto Aaron's beard, that is, the episcopate, and went down to the skirts of his clothing, that is, the priesthood."

We have said enough to indicate the spirit and tendency of these teachings, and we have not space here to enter into an examination of the principles laid down in the tract on the "Rule of Worship," which is really nothing more than a reassertion of the idea with which the readers of this kind of literature are already sufficiently familiar—"the supremacy of the Blessed Sacrament as the rule of Christian worship." We must, however, protest against the shameless abuse of Scripture in the attempt to get an argument in their favour out of the Lord's Prayer. Surely those simple loving words might have been spared the ignominy of being dragged into the controversy. Anything less like a "witness to sacramental truth" than the prayer in which the Lord instructs us to go ourselves to our Father and ask Him for the blessings we need, it is difficult to conceive. But these wonderful interpreters have discovered that in the petition "Give us this day our daily bread" is "expressed the true intention of the Lord's Supper long before it was instituted," and that the discourse in the sixth chapter of John's gospel was a commentary on those words in the prayer.

"It is unnecessary to ask whether Jesus then declared that the Bread for which His followers had been instructed to pray was the Bread of which He had been speaking or something of a different kind. The discourse itself is a commentary on the prayer. Thus:—

"1. 'Our Father, which art in heaven,' is asked to give daily bread; for Jesus says, 'My Father giveth you the true Bread from Heaven.' (St. John vi. 32.)

"2. 'Daily Bread' is the object of the prayer. Jesus speaks of Bread compared to the Manna which came down every day. (St. John vi. 58.)

"3. 'Our daily Bread' seems to speak of 'the staff of life,' necessary for every soul. Jesus says, 'This is the Bread which cometh down from Heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die.' (St. John vi. 41.)

"4. The 'Bread' is perhaps 'the food of the offering' made to God (Lev. iii. 16.) Jesus proves that this is the case. 'The Bread that I will give is My Flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. (St. John vi. 51.)

"5. Hence the need of this daily Bread, and also the obligation of the Prayer. 'Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of man and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you.' (St. John vi. 53.)"

Comment on our part would be superfluous.

The unwarranted assumptions on which the argument rests are too palpable to require us to dwell upon them; but the passage is a fair illustration of the way in which Sacerdotalists pervert Scripture to their own purposes. We have not taken up the volume with the idea of entering here into theological discussion, but simply to show our readers the kind of teaching which a section of the Anglican clergy is at present putting forth.

"EDUCATION AND SCHOOL."

This is not a new work. It first appeared more than three years ago, and though it is now placed before us in a second edition, we do not perceive any considerable change, unless that account be given of a marked improvement in paper and print. But for several reasons Dr. Thring's treatise deserves more than a brief passing notice. It is of a very moderate length, very readable, and handles, as we think, very sensibly and fairly, one branch of a subject which is important at all times, and at present undergoing on all sides revision and debate. A reform in education, to be sound and effectual, must to some extent move altogether, if it move at all. If we are to do more and better than has yet been done for the children of the very poor, it is obviously much to be desired that any grave imperfections and inadequacies in middle-class education should also be looked into thoroughly well. Neither is there any reason why the introduction of new elements of value into education in general, or into one of its provinces, should be purchased at the sacrifice of what is really excellent in the old. It is of middle-class education more especially that Dr. Thring undertakes to speak, and he has something to say for the "old lamps" as well as for the new. A circumstance which affords some presumption in favour of his competency to write on "Education and School" is that Uppingham Grammar School has risen, under his direction as head master, to a high and hitherto unprecedented degree of prosperity, and that no small proportion of his scholars are the sons of professional men, that is, of men who are rather less likely than others to be satisfied with empty display or mere nominal proficiency. Like every other book, however, this must be judged on its merits, and according to the internal evidence of its value, be that great or small. The following extract will show how far the author is from imagining that everything worth knowing or caring for can be taught by means of grammars and dictionaries, or, indeed, by formal lessons of any kind.

"There is a double object in school training; first, the training of the life; secondly, the training the intellect and body; first, the setting the loving and hating on a right track; secondly, the training the instrumental powers rightly.

"The first can only be done indirectly; for formation of character and a right spirit is only in a very slight degree capable of being made a matter of imparted knowledge. Boys or men become brave, and hardy, and true, not by being told to be so, but by being nurtured in a brave, and hardy, and true way, surrounded with objects likely to excite these feelings, exercised in a manner calculated to draw them out unconsciously. For all true feeling is unconscious, in proportion to its perfection. And as there is no moment in which habits are not in process of formation, there is nothing whatever which cannot be made to bear on this process; nothing, indeed, which does not of necessity bear on it. In a school, therefore, it is of the utmost importance that the whole government and machinery should in its minutest particulars do this by perfect truth and perfect freedom. It follows, then, that no falseness in the government, no falseness in the working plan, in or out of school, can make boys true. Whatever is professed must be done. If a school professes to teach, then every boy must have his share of teaching. There must be no knowledge-scramble, or the untruth will make itself felt. If a school professes to train, then every boy must be really known, his wants supplied, or the untruth will make itself felt. If a school professes to board boys, then every boy must find proper food, and proper lodging, and no meanness, or the untruth will make itself felt."

An important distinction indicated in the above quotation is pointed out more fully, and at the same time very briefly, in the preface to this second edition:—

"There is no necessary connection whatever between what kind of knowledge, classical or modern, or both, or a thousand *etceteras*, should be taught, and the other, no less important, but different point, what is the best way of teaching what is wanted for imparting any kind of knowledge well, and training the general life."

We do not know how far Dr. Thring would be prepared to agree with the doctrine of a recent lecture by Mr. Seeley, that the study of English and of English literature ought not only to be pursued more systematically, and with far greater thoroughness than is customary in schools, but should be substituted for Latin and Greek where the period of education is too limited to do justice both to these languages and to our own. It is a doctrine which will,

* *Education and School*. By the Rev. EDWARD THRING, M.A., Head Master of Uppingham School, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

we trust, before very long be generally adopted and reduced to practice. The case in favour of the ancient classics and the classical languages, where the opportunity of being trained in them exists, is stated very well and fairly as follows:—

"First of all, they are the perfection of mere humanity, as distinct from that living power breathed into all modern life, literature, and artist-work, by Christianity. No one can know the true progress of human life and thought, who does not know what it has been. All sound criticism is based on this knowledge.

"Secondly, they are the means by which the history of the early world, its facts, its wars, its treaties, its social life, become known to us. No one can know the true history of the world, or its present state, who does not know what the world has been.

"Thirdly, they are the perfection of art, the perfection of the shaping skill of the human mind; and whilst all things that appeal to the eye or ear, creation, pictures, sculpture, literature, are all in their degree, languages of which speech is the most subtle, the classics as languages are the perfection of mere word-power and form.

"Fourthly, being perfect languages in themselves, they are the fittest training as to how thought should be expressed, calling into play every power of the human mind.

"And lastly, they are as languages the foundation of our own; and it is not too much to say that an accurate knowledge of our own tongue, one of the chief ends of education, cannot be attained without them."

The subject of punishments has a chapter to itself, which, though not one of the shortest in the book, we have not found at all too long. Prevention is better than cure, and an appetite for knowledge a far higher motive than fear, and a moral sympathy between master and scholar very much to be preferred to the rod. Nevertheless, there is nothing inconsistent with the just and humane feeling which runs through this volume, in our being reminded that boys are not invariably little angels, and that it is a mistake to give the master's look of calm reproach, or even his most piercing glance, credit for forty-angel power. The writer is neither in favour of extreme severity, nor disposed to give in to the as extreme "reaction" against the old-fashioned hang-draw-and-quarter-him process, which certainly was no "laughing matter."

"It would be easy to draw a very true and not very bright picture of boys, and the difficulty of dealing with them, but it is the purpose of this treatise to show a trainer's duty, rather than his trials. Nevertheless, it would be well to bear in mind that no words can exaggerate the spoiled nursery-temper, the selfishness, the indolence, the low morale, the carelessness of consequences, the transcendent folly of some boys, united with a conceit coextensive with their folly. The power of not learning, too, is quite a gift, which must be experienced to be credited; the power by which boys, and not bad boys either, will daily be brought in contact with knowledge to no purpose. How, like the children's toy, the same rabbit is moved by the same wires, into the same mouth, down to the same stomach, of the same wooden bear *ad infinitum*, always swallowed, never digested, a perpetual revolution of purposeless seeming feeding. It is quite certain that whatever powers of inspiring, exhortation, rebuke, or punishment, it is wise and effective to use, will be needed in a school."

Several other chapters bear directly on the organisation and management of schools as large as that over which the author presides, and provided with as large a staff of masters, and it is primarily with a view to education according to that method, and on a similar scale, that the work has been written. While we mention this to prevent disappointment, we can at the same time recommend this compact little volume as containing very much to interest general readers, and especially fathers and mothers to say nothing of the "men who never have been boys." We are none of us too perspicacious or too comprehensive in our views on a theme so important and so many-sided, not to gain some useful ideas, perhaps to be corrected in some notions which are misleading, and confirmed in well-founded convictions and aims, by these fruits of a great deal of study and experience, condensed as they are into so moderate a compass, and put before us in so pleasant a shape.

BRIEF NOTICES.

The New Creation; a View of the Divine Predictions of New Heavens and a New Earth, as having a Progressive Fulfilment in the Christian Dispensation, and a Complete Accomplishment in the Period of the Millennium. By JOHN MILLS, Minister of the Gospel, author of "Sacred Symbolism" and "Thoughts on the Apocalypse." (London: Elliot Stock.) We were attracted by this title, and opened the volume, expecting to find in it not the speculations of the dreamer, but some estimate of the actual results of the Gospel in the spiritual and moral elevation of men. The preface still further awakened our hope, speaking as it does of the "New Creation" in the language of Scripture, "as commencing with Christianity, and as being neither more nor less than the establishment of the Redeemer's Kingdom in the world." But we met with great disappointment in the book; opposed to premillennialism, it is equally with it arbitrary in its postulates, fanciful in interpretation, and unreal in the interest to which it appeals. About a hundred pages are occupied with diffuse arguments, discursively illus-

trated, to establish that "the centre of the Universe is the Palace of Jesus." "We are compelled to conclude without the least hesitation, that, whereas in the vast creation there must somewhere exist a grand centre-world where the Almighty God manifests His glory more resplendently than in any other part of the universe, and as the Redeemer is now in that glorious world with His Father, so He will there have His abode with His redeemed people, in everlasting felicity." Mr. Mills appears to regard it as of the highest importance to controvert the opinion that this earth, renovated and glorified, will be the future abode of the righteous. He does so in the interest of Scripture, which tells us to set our affection on "things above," not on things on the earth; and because the Bible says of the future world "there will be no night there," which, he observes, cannot be conceived as true of a world occupying a place like ours in the solar system, and revolving on its own axis. These are specimens of Mr. Mills's serious arguments in the first part of his book. There is nothing more weighty or more stimulating in the after part, wherein he speaks of the "New Creation" as being the "establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom in the world." Mr. Mills is one of those who cannot trust the poetical language of Scripture with its own interpretation and the vindication of its own use. He treats it as an artificial symbolism; the sun, for instance, means the Redeemer; the moon, the ordinances of the Christian Church; and the stars, the ministers of the Gospel. Elaborate analogies are traced between the works of the several days of creation, and certain stages in the spiritual progress of the world; thus we have one section "on the analogy between the work of the Creator in the formation of dry land, and the separation of the people of Israel from the other nations of the world." Our readers will probably, from these specimens of Mr. Mills's arguments, form their opinion whether they would care to possess his book. For ourselves, we pronounce his reasonings puerile in conception and confused in development. The man who wrote such a title-page and preface should have written no more, or else a more sober and respectable book.

The National and Domestic History of England describing not only the Growth of the Empire Affairs of the State, Civil and Foreign Wars, Political and Diplomatic Events; but also and especially the Social Condition of the People their Dwellings, Customs, Habits, Trades, Implements Armour Conveyances and Sports. Illustrated with Steelplate and Wood Engravings. By W. S. H. AUBREY. (J. Hagger, London.) We have given this title-page with its irregular punctuation unaltered, hoping that Mr. Aubrey, seeing to what a careless piece of composition his name is attached, will correct the proofs of the title-pages, as well as of the text, of his future volumes. We fear that the tasteless display of typography and of steel plate engraving which introduces his literary work may arouse a hasty prejudice against it. Mr. Aubrey speaks of the illustrations in Charles Knight's "Pictorial History of England" as open to improvement. The paper and woodcuts of this history may be superior to Knight's, but Knight knew better than to disfigure his volumes as this has been disfigured. The history itself is well-fitted to be popular. Wholesome views of political and ecclesiastical matters are everywhere given; the social habits of the people are also described pleasantly, and with such citation of authorities as to satisfy the reader that Mr. Aubrey is not drawing fancy pictures. Mr. Aubrey does not profess to be one of the antiquaries who read old manuscripts, and draw out of wearisome legends a reference here and there illustrative of the life and condition of the people. But he has skillfully availed himself of their labours; and has well interwoven descriptions of the people's homes and habits, with the narrative of changes in the empire and political growth. This first part of the history ends in the reign of Henry II. We heartily commend the volume, and shall be glad to see its successors.

Visions of Paradise. An Epic. By DAVID N. LORD. Vol. I. (New York: David N. Lord, 19, West Fourth-street.) We have received the first volume only of an American Epic, intended to describe the "life of the re-deemed during the period between their death and their resurrection; to present vivid pictures of the vastness, the unity, and the grandeur of God's material empire; to depict in fitting hues the immensity of glory of his moral kingdom; to unfold the work of redemption in its genuine characters; and, finally, to portray and verify the great purposes God has revealed respecting the future of our world and our race." Appended to about 240 pages of blank verse, are 160 of notes— theological, metaphysical and critical—expository or defensive of the sentiments expressed in the poem. There was no need of this; for the epic is sufficiently theological and metaphysical of itself. A respectable mediocrity of execution characterises verses and notes alike; but Mr. Lord is neither poet, philosopher, nor theologian.

The Works of George Swinnoek, M.A. Vol. I. (Edinburgh: James Nichol.) The present year's issue of Nichol's invaluable series, which thoroughly sustains its character in every respect, is, we observe, to be devoted to the works of Swinnoek, a writer who is not so extensively known as some of his Puritan fellow-workers, but the intrinsic excellence of whose works well entitles them to be included in this reissue of our older Divinity. Indeed, it is in rescuing from comparative obscurity

books like this that Mr. Nichol renders special service to theological literature. So competent a judge as the late Dr. James Hamilton bore a strong testimony to the extreme value of books hitherto known only to a few collectors. Now a complete and handsome edition of them is accessible at a very small cost to all ministers and students, to whom we heartily recommend them.

Pastoral Counsels. By the Rev. Dr. ROBERTSON, of Glasgow. Third Edition. (London: Macmillan and Co.) Though Robertson of Glasgow was a man of very inferior calibre to his namesake at Brighton, yet by his eloquence, his independent style of thinking, his moral courage, and his religious earnestness, he made a deep impression on the metropolis of the West of Scotland, in whose cathedral he so successfully ministered. The excellence of this volume is testified by the fact that it has reached a third edition. The sermons which it contains are admirable specimens of a practical, earnest, and instructive style of pulpit teaching. Some of them must have come into decided collision with many Scotch prejudices, and it is creditable to the people to whom Dr. Robertson ministered that this frankness of utterance does not seem at all to have interfered with his popularity.

A Comment on Ruth, and Notes upon Jonah. By THOMAS FULLER, D.D. Edited by William Nichols. (London: William Tegg.) Another volume of Thomas Fuller cannot fail to find a welcome, and there is the more interest in the present issue because the two works which it contains were composed at an interval of five-and-twenty years, and thus enable us to compare the author's early style with that of his latest days. Both of them are marked by his well-known characteristics.

Hooker. Book I. of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. Edited by W. R. CHURCH, M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.) This beautiful little edition of the first book of one of the great standard works of our language deserves a word a hearty praise. The size, the arrangement, the type, are perfect, and the value of this admirable pocket-volume is greatly increased by the brief introductory sketch of the life of the author, the catalogue of dates connected with matters of religion in Hooker's life, and the glossary, which are added.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Schools and Universities on the Continent, by Matthew Arnold (Macmillan and Co.). The Reorganisation of the University of Oxford, by Goldwin Smith (James Parker and Co.). Meg, by Mrs. Elloart, 3 vols (Hurst and Blackett). Ecce Homo, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone (Strahan and Co.). The Martyr of Brentwood, by W. H. G. Kingston (S. W. Partridge). Vittoria Colonna: her Life and Poems, by Mrs. Henry Roscoe (Macmillan and Co.). Social Life of the Chinese, by the Rev. Justus Doolittle (S. Low and Co.). History of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, by John Foster Kirk, 3 vols.; Life of Wilberforce, by the Bishop of Oxford (John Murray). The Mysteries of Mount Calvary, translated from the Latin of Antonio De Guevara, edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. (Rivingtons). Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867, by Eugene Rimmel (Chapman and Hall).

Miscellaneous News.

THE FENIAN TRIALS.—William Thompson and Patrick Mullady were on Tuesday found guilty at Manchester of the murder of Sergeant Brett, and sentenced to be hanged. The trial lasted two days. The evidence does not seem to have been at all conclusive, especially in the case of Thompson, as Mr. Justice Lush pointed out. Probably the extreme penalty will be remitted. It seems quite possible that it was a case, in one if not both instances, of mistaken identity. Mackay's trial for treason-felony at Cork has been postponed. It is probable that after a short interval all the Jacknall prisoners will be liberated by the Irish Government, and possibly Captain Nagle amongst them, on certain conditions. Four men were released on Saturday, named Rooney, Kelly, Lawless, and Hurley. They were conveyed by the mid-day train to Cork and shipped for America, the United States authorities paying their passage-money. These all belonged to the crew of the Fenian cruiser, and are Irish Americans.

THE SUNDAY LIQUOR TRAFFIC.—Mr. Disraeli received an influential deputation on Saturday with an address signed by 69 mayors of large corporation towns, 31 chairmen of benches of magistrates, and 148 Justices of the Peace in all parts of England and Wales, praying for the support of the Government to Mr. Abel Smith's bill. After a few words from Dr. Garrett, the Rev. G. M. Murphy stated that, moving among large masses of working men, he knew that the passing of Mr. Smith's bill would be regarded as a great boon. The Rev. Newman Hall said the promoters did not ask the Government to support the bill as a religious, but a social measure. He was also sure that if the votes of the working classes were taken there would be an overwhelming majority in its favour. Archbishop Manning said that he had recently attended a large meeting of working men at Exeter Hall, in favour of the bill. The public-houses on Sunday were a greater temptation to that class than on any other day from the fact that then they had both time and money at their disposal. Mr. Disraeli said that it afforded him much pleasure to hear so influential an address supported by gentlemen who were acquainted with the wants and wishes of the working classes, and that they might rely upon his laying the memorial before his colleagues in a manner

which would command for it their best attention. A numerously attended meeting was held on Tuesday in the Hanover-square Rooms, in support of Mr. J. A. Smith's bill for restricting the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday. The Archbishop of York presided, and made a cordial speech in favour of legislation against drunkenness.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.—The party that returned the late Mr. Crosland for Huddersfield induced Mr. Wright Mellor to stand against Mr. E. A. Leatham. But Mr. Campbell Sleigh, an ex-Radical, coming forward on the Conservative side, Mr. Mellor retired. The nomination took place on Wednesday, when Mr. Leatham was returned by a large majority.—A meeting was held on Monday evening, at the Horns' Tavern, Kennington, to give an exposition of the political opinions of Mr. Sheriff M'Arthur, who is a candidate in the Liberal interest for the representation of Lambeth. The chair was taken by Mr. J. Corderoy, who briefly introduced the candidate. Mr. M'Arthur, who was received with cheers, referred briefly to the recent extension of the franchise. With regard to the Irish Church, he could not support the scheme of Lord John Russell to share its revenues with the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians. Rather than do this he would vote for its disendowment altogether. He said this with the most friendly feelings towards that Church. A great many of its clergy were most excellent and devoted men; they were now in a false position. He had no reason to fear the Church would suffer and be unable to support itself if disendowed. On the contrary, he considered it would be to its real advantage. The clergy would be supported by the voluntary offerings of the people better than they were now, because the Church revenues would be more fairly distributed among the clergy. They had the truth, why should they be afraid? What followed on the disruption of the Church of Scotland was evidence of what would be done when a Church was left to its own efforts. Mr. M'Arthur concluded by expressing his sense of the high responsibilities of a member of Parliament in the present crisis. The room was crowded. The meeting was rather noisy, but the speaker was frequently cheered, and a resolution was adopted in favour of Mr. Sheriff M'Arthur as one of the representatives for Lambeth.—According to the *Imperial Review*, the Conservatives of London University would be more disposed to support Sir John Lubbock than Mr. Lowe should Dr. Miller not stand. Mr. Samuel Carter, late Solicitor to the London and North-Western Railway Company, is Liberal candidate for Coventry.—Mr. Johnston, the Orange Grand Master recently convicted under the Processions Act, offers himself as a candidate for the representation of Belfast. In an address dated from Down Gaol, he asks them not to permit his imprisonment for vindicating religious liberty to interfere with his candidature. But Mr. Getty, who was expected to retire, holds on, and will probably continue to do so.

Court, Official, and Personal News.

Miss Carpenter was received by the Queen at Windsor Castle on Friday afternoon, being introduced by Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., Secretary of State for India.

On Saturday afternoon her Majesty, accompanied by the Princess Louise, inspected the progress of the works made since her last visit at the Prince Consort's memorial chapel.

It is reported that the Queen, accompanied by some of the members of the Royal family, intends to visit Germany in the autumn.

Her Majesty has consented to lay the foundation-stone of new St. Thomas's Hospital on or about the 12th of May.

Messrs. Smith and Elder, the publishers of "Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands," have issued a cheap edition of that popular work.

Wednesday being the Princess Louise's birthday, her Royal Highness was, in accordance with a graceful custom established by the Queen, serenaded in the morning by the members of St. George's choir.

The Prince of Wales presided on Tuesday night at the dinner of the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society. He made several speeches, which appear to have given great satisfaction to his hearers. In one of them he said that he was very glad to find that the announcement of his approaching visit to Ireland had been received with so much cordiality, and he hinted that this visit might be the prelude to a more permanent stay in Ireland at a future period.

The *Imperial Review* has "reason to believe that on the occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit to Ireland an amnesty will be granted to some of those who are now undergoing terms of imprisonment for political offences."

The Prince of Wales held the second levee of the season, on behalf of her Majesty the Queen, at St. James's Palace, on Tuesday. The presentations included many of the recently appointed high sheriffs of the various counties of England and Wales.

The Prince of Wales has signified his willingness to open the National Exhibition of Works of Art in Leeds during the third week in May.

During the past week the health of the Bishop of Winchester has decidedly improved, and no unfavourable symptoms have occurred.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach has accepted the office of Parliamentary Secretary to the Poor Law Board.

On Wednesday evening Mr. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and Mrs. Gladstone entertained a distinguished com-

pany at dinner at the family residence, on Carlton House-terrace. Later on Mrs. Gladstone had a reception, which was very crowded. The Prime Minister and Mrs. Disraeli, and the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, M.P., and Mrs. and Miss Hardy, together with a large number of members of the House of Commons, were present.

The *Owl* believes that the Public Elementary Education Bill for England and Wales will contain a clause providing for the appointment of a Minister of Education.

A deputation from the Evangelical Alliance, consisting of Lord Ebury, Lord Alfred Churchill, and others, had an interview with the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, at the Colonial Office, on Tuesday, on the subject of the expulsion of a number of French Protestant missionaries from their station in Basutoland by the Government of the Orange River Free State.

The Cobden Club offers the prize of a gold medal for the best essay "On the best way of developing improved political and commercial relations between Great Britain and the United States of America."

Mr. James Teare, the originator of the total abstinence movement in Preston, in the year 1832, died in Manchester, on Monday night, the 16th inst., aged sixty-four, having been afflicted with paralysis for several months brought on by his arduous and continuous labours in the advocacy of the temperance cause in various parts of the kingdom.

The names are announced of four baronets who are to be raised to the peerage. They are Sir John Trollope, Sir J. Walsh, Sir Brooke Bridges, and Sir Stirling Maxwell. The *Globe* says it is understood that several additions will be made to the baronetage. Since the beginning of 1866, a space of little more than two years, not less than twenty new British peers have been made—a viscount and nineteen barons. Some of these, indeed, were Scotch or Irish peers before, but still the rate of increase is extraordinary, and if it continues must very much modify the character of the House.

The *Solicitors' Journal* says Mr. Disraeli was once articulated to a firm of City attorneys.

The reconciliation between the late Lord Chancellor and the Premier was not so thorough as we were led to believe. Lord Chelmsford, says the *Post*, still considers himself aggrieved. The same journal denies that he had shaken hands with Mr. Disraeli, which is quite conceivable seeing that his lordship has ever since his deposition been in Paris, where he is said to look none the worse for having lost the Great Seal. It appears from the *Times* that the services of Lord Chelmsford having been thought deserving of some public recognition, he was offered the Grand Cross of the Bath, which he declined, upon the ground that it was a distinction wholly unsuited to an ex-chancellor.

Gleanings.

"Change upon Change," a new novel, by Emily Faithfull, will be ready the first week in April.

Evening classes for young women of the working class are being established in Kensington.

A proposal is afloat that the elaborate Prince-Consort memorial in Hyde Park should be protected by a gigantic glass shade.

A Connecticut paper publishes the following among its notices of births:—"In Cornwall, February 5th, a son to John Trichehemenn, Esq.—a Democratic gain."

It is said that, for sacramental purposes, unfermented wine is now used by no fewer than three thousand churches in England.

It is said that a munificent friend to popular improvement has offered to give 100,000*l.* to be devoted to the purpose of promoting technical education by founding scholarships in existing good schools.

"Greater Britain, a Record of Travel in English-speaking countries in 1866-7," is the title of a new work, by Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke, which will shortly appear.

Mr. A. W. Bennett has in the press the following new poetical works:—"Jean d'Arc," by Robert Stegall; "Harp Echoes and other Poems," by John Poyer; and "Poems," by A. A. Le Gros.

On the authority of the *Morning Post*, we are told that the prevailing style of head-dress at the Drawing Room consisted of bandeaux Louis XV., with a modification of the chignon, and flowers, plumes, and veils.

On the occasion of the dinner given by Mr. Cyrus Field at the Westminster Palace Hotel a telegraphic communication between San Francisco and London was effected in the space of one hundred and twenty seconds.

The wheat in the South of England is looking bad, and the turnip crop is not looking very favourable. Last year's turnip crop in the south was the most abundant one known for years, one acre yielding as much as ten acres in some years.

A clergyman having been recently appointed to some parochial office, the guardians wrote to him to know what were his religious opinions—whether he inclined to High Church or Low Church. The reverend gentleman wrote, in reply, that he was just a little elevated.

The following epitaph, in a country churchyard, touchingly commemorates the gluttony of a husband and the grief of his bereaved widow:—

Eliza, sorrowing, rears this marble slab
To her dear John, who died of eating crab.

The death is announced of a Welsh bard, Morgan Owen, at the age of eighty. It is stated that he had never been more than four miles away from home, had never written a letter during his life, neither had he ever received one.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY.—Mr. Millais will probably contribute to the forthcoming Royal Academy Exhibition:—1. "Rosalind and Celia in the Forest": a picture unfinished last year. 2. Two old Greenwich Pensioners looking by lantern-light at the Tomb of Nelson in the Crypt of St. Paul's. The light is placed in a moulding just below the name of the admiral, and sends its rays upon the inscription and the faces of those who read it. 3. Swift's "Stella," holding letters in her hand, and standing by an escritoire. Half in thought, she looks at the spectator with steadfast, dreaming eyes. 4. Portraits of three young ladies.—*Athenaeum*.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH AND THE OFFICER.—There is a good story afloat, says the *United Service Gazette*, which deserves to be true, if it be not so. It is said that the Duke of Edinburgh, being under the impression that his roving commission relieved him from the necessity of adhering to the formality of naval etiquette, and felicitating himself thereon, went on board in plain clothes to pay the senior officer at the Cape a visit. Being heartily welcomed by that officer and invited down to lunch in his cabin, the Prince was surprised that the officer he had come to visit did not accompany him below. "Are you not coming, too, Captain?" asked the Prince. "I can't just yet, your Royal Highness," was the reply, "I am waiting to receive the captain of the Galatea." The Prince is said to have taken the hint in good part, and, returning to his ship, repeated his visit in the character of captain of the Galatea.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTHS.

CORBOLD.—March 11, at Knarborough, the wife of the Rev. Edwin Corbold, of a daughter.
THOMPSON.—March 17, at Falslow, Cheshire, Mrs. Joseph Thompson, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

SOUTHWELL—VASLIN.—February 5, at the British Embassy, Lima, Peru, before the Hon. William Stafford Jerningham, H.B.M., Consul-General, and by the Rev. Joseph Henry, of the Episcopal church, Mr. Charles Southwell, engineer of the Lima Mint, and younger son of the late Mr. R. B. Southwell, Bridgnorth, to Andrea Leousa, second daughter of the late Mons. Luis Francisco Vasin, merchant, Lima.
THOMAS—PITT.—March 5, at Grosvenor-square Welsh Presbyterian chapel, Manchester, by the Rev. William James, B.A., Mr. Edward Thomas, of Angles, to Mary Ann, only daughter of the late Mr. William Pitt, of Talgarth, Breconshire.

WARD—TOOTILL.—March 7, at the Congregational chapel, Edgeworth, by the Rev. G. Dunn, Mr. Edward Ward, of Belmont, to Miss Mary Ann Tootill, of Edgeworth.

CARR—FULCHER.—March 7, at Carmel Chapel, Woolwich, Kent, by the Rev. P. Dickerson, of London, uncle of the bride, Mr. William Carr, of Great Bealings, to Miss Betsy Fulcher, of Chester-place, Plumstead.

IRISH—CONNARD.—March 8, at the New-road Chapel, Bromsgrove, by the Rev. J. Stevens, Mr. G. F. Irish, to Miss Harriet Connard. This being the first marriage in the above chapel, the couple were presented with a handsome family Bible.

VIPAN—RYLAND.—March 10, at the Old Meeting House, Biggleswade, by the Rev. Philip Griffiths, John Vipar, Esq., late of Sutton, in the Isle of Ely, to Mrs. Eliza Ingle Ryland, widow of the late John Ryland, Esq., Biggleswade.

HARDING—OSMAN.—March 10, at the Primitive Methodist chapel, Fetter-lane, Holborn, by the Rev. J. H. J. Beckhurst, Mr. James Albert Harding, to Rebecca, second daughter of Mr. Henry Osman, Winkfield, Berks.

VALLANCE—HEWETT.—March 11, at Percy Chapel, Bath, by the Rev. C. Chapman, M.A., Mr. C. Vallance, to Sophia, second daughter of Mr. Thomas Hewitt, of Bath.

TUCKER—DURST.—March 11, at the Union Chapel, Queen's Park, Manchester, by the Rev. John Earnshaw, Mr. James Tucker, of Greenheys, to Miss Amalia Durst, of Zurich, Switzerland.

HANBURY—PEASE.—March 11, at the Friends' Meeting-house, Laurence Weston, Thomas Hanbury, of the Palazzo Oregno, near Mentone, formerly of Shanghai, to Katharine Aldam, eldest daughter of Thomas Pease, Cote Bank, Westbury-on-Trym, near Bristol.

VICKERS—SACKETT.—March 11, at the Wesleyan chapel, Headingley, near Leeds, by the Rev. C. Turton, uncle of the bride, Thomas Henry, youngest son of Mr. Benjamin R. Vickers, of Leeds, to Emma, youngest daughter of the late Rev. Edward Sackett, Wesleyan minister.

WOMERSLEY—ILLINGWORTH.—March 12, at Westgate Chapel, Bradford, by the Rev. J. Bloomfield, Mr. Benjamin Womersley, to Miss Eliza Illingworth, both of Bradford.

TURNER—FIELD.—March 12, at Lymington, by the Rev. William Field, M.A., brother of the bride, E. Fulham Turner, M.R.C.S., to Ellen, eldest daughter of the late William Field, of Lambeth, Surrey.

WAKEFIELD—HUNTRISS.—March 12, at the Crescent Chapel, Everton, by the Rev. J. Kelly, Mr. C. J. Wakefield, of Handsworth, to Kate, youngest daughter of the late Captain Robert Huntriss, of Liverpool.

GRAHAM—BARNARD.—March 18, at the parish church, Whitby, Yorkshire, by the Rev. James W. R. Disney, Vicar of St. Saviour's, Bedford, Notts, William Graham, Esq., ex-Mayor of Newport, Monmouthshire, to Miss Elizabeth Barnard, of Southwell, Notts.

BUTLER—SITCHMARSH.—March 19, at Tacket-street Chapel, Ipswich, by the Rev. Eliezer Jones, Mr. Eustace Butler, to Miss Emma Sitohmarsh, both of Royston.

DEATHS.

PEDLEY.—February 14, at Cold Springs, Coburg, Canada West, of paralysis, Sarah, wife of the Rev. Charles Pedley, and eldest daughter of the late Professor Stowell, D.D., aged forty-five.

LEMMON.—March 3, of illness resulting from an accident in returning to his home on the night of Sunday, February 23, the Rev. James Lemmon, Wesleyan minister, Downham, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and the forty-first of his ministry.

TOPLIS.—March 10, at 23, Charles-street, Cavendish-square, the residence of his father-in-law, John Tarring, Esq., Mr. Thomas Toplis, of Maylyffe, Torquay, in his thirty-fifth year.

FITZWATER.—March 12, at Rye, very unexpectedly, Harry, the only son of Captain F. B. Fitzwater, Totness, Devon, aged six years.

HENSON.—March 16, at Rayleigh, Essex, Gertrude Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. H. Henson, aged fourteen months.

RAINE.—March 16, at Brixton, Elizabeth, wife of Mr. T. Raine, formerly of Clapham, aged eighty-four years.

WOODROW.—March 16, at his residence, Portland House, Gosport, after a long illness, Henry Woodrow.

BALBIRNIE.—March 18, at Kingland, Middlesex, Elizabeth, widow of the late John Balbirnie, Esq., in her eighty-second year.

GREEN.—March 18, at Uppingham, in the county of Rutland, the Rev. John Green, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, peacefully went home.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 31, for the week ending Wednesday, March 18.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	.... £34,994,600	Government Debt	£11,015,100
		Other Securities	.. 3,984,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion	19,994,600
	£34,994,600		£34,994,600

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities	(inc. dead weight annuity) £13,272,162
Reserve	8,617,621	Other Securities	.. 17,777,440
Public Deposits	5,927,224	Notes	.. 11,964,975
Other Deposits	19,737,714	Gold & Silver Coin	1,286,827
Seven Day and other Bills	467,845		
	£44,803,404		£44,803,404

March 19, 1868. FRANK MAY, Deputy Chief Cashier.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, March 16.

Although the supply of English wheat at this morning's market was small, the trade opened heavy, and sales proceeded very slowly at about the rates of this day so'nigh. Foreign also dull at late quotations. Barley fit for malting purposes quite as dear; grinding sorts rather cheaper. Beans firm. Peas without change. The arrival of foreign oats for the past week are moderate, but we have still a fair return of English. This article has by no means been in active request, and buyers have been able to supply their wants on quite as good terms as late.

CURRENT PRICES.

		Per Qr.				Per Qr.	
WHEAT—		s.	s.			s.	s.
Essex and Kent,				PEAS—			
red, old	.. ..	71	75	Grey	.. ..	42	44
Ditto new	.. ..	65	73	Maple	.. ..	46	47
White, old	.. ..	74	80	White	.. ..	45	47
" new	.. ..	66	67	Boilers	.. ..	45	47
Foreign red	.. ..	68	73	Foreign, white	.. ..	44	46
" white	.. ..	71	76				
BARLEY—				RYE		43	48
English malting	.. ..	35	36	OATS—			
Chevalier	.. ..	39	47	English feed..	.. ..	26	33
Distilling	.. ..	37	41	" potatoes	.. ..	30	35
Foreign	.. ..	35	37	Scotch feed	.. ..	—	—
MALT—				" potatoes	.. ..	—	—
Pale	.. ..	—	—	Irish black	.. ..	21	27
Chevalier	.. ..	—	—	" white	.. ..	24	27
Brown	.. ..	52	60	Foreign feed..	.. ..	24	28
BEANS—				FLOUR—			
Ticks	.. ..	40	43	Town made	.. ..	60	64
Harrow	.. ..	41	44	Country Marks	.. ..	50	53
Small	.. ..	—	—	Norfolk & Suffolk	.. ..	48	49
Egyptian	.. ..	43	44				

BREAD.—LONDON, Saturday, March 14.—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 10*d.* to 10½*d.*; household ditto, 7½*d.* to 9½*d.*

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET.

MONDAY, March 16.—The total import of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 3,103 head. In the corresponding week last year the aggregate arrivals were 10,305; in 1866, 13,319; in 1865, 7,189; in 1864, 7,100; in 1863, 5,449; in 1862, 2,768; and in 1861, 2,106 head. There was a very moderate show of foreign stock here to-day; but its general quality was good. Sales progressed steadily, and last week's prices were fairly supported. About an average supply of beasts, in excellent condition, was received fresh up this morning from our own grazing districts. The arrivals from Scotland were tolerably good; from Ireland limited. For nearly all breeds there was a steady demand at prices quite equal to Monday last. The best Scots and crosses sold at 4*s.* 10*d.* per 8*lbs.* From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, we received about 1,200 Scots and crosses; from other parts of England, 500 various breeds; from Scotland 380 Scots and crosses; and from Ireland 140 oxen, cows, and heifers. About an average number of sheep was brought forward. Those in the wool moved off steadily at full quotations, but shorn sheep were a dull inquiry at late rates. Downs and half-breeds, in the wool, sold at from 5*s.* 2*d.* to 5*s.* 4*d.*, out of the wool 4*s.* 6*d.*, to 4*s.* 8*d.* per 8*lbs.* The quality of the sheep was prime. Lambs were in moderate request at from 3*s.* 2*d.* to 4*s.* each. The supply was by no means extensive. Prime small calves were the turn dealer. Inferior calves commanded very little attention, at late rates. The top figure was 3*s.* 2*d.* per 8*lbs.* We have to report a dull sale for pigs. In prices, however, very little change took place; they ranged from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 2*d.* per 8*lbs.*

Per 8*lbs.* to sink the Offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inf coarse beasts	3	2	to	3	Prime Southdown	5	2	to	5
Second quality	3	6	3	10	Lambs	0	0	0	0
Prime large oxen.	4	0	4	6	Lgs. coarse calves	4	2	4	6
Prime 8 to 12, &c.	4	8	4	10	Prime small	4	8	5	2
Coarse inf. sheep	3	8	4	0	Large hogs	3	4	3	8
Second quality	4	2	4	6	Neaten. porkers	3	10	4	2
Pr. coarse woolled	4	8	5	0					

Suckling calves, 22*s.* to 26*s.*; and quarter-old store pigs, 23*s.* to 26*s.* each.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, March 16.

About average supplies of meat are on sale in these markets. On the whole the trade is steady at last week's currency. The imports into London since Monday last have been limited, viz., 42 packages from Hamburg, 13 from Harlingen, and 5 from Rotterdam.

Per 8*lbs.* by the carcass.

	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.
Inferior beef	2	10 to 3	2	Inf. mutton	3 0 3 8
Middling ditto	3	4	3 6	Middling ditto	3 10 4 2
Prime large do.	3	8	4 0	Prime ditto	4 4 4 6
Do. small do.	4	2	4 4	Veal	3 10 4 6
Large pork	2	10	3 6	Lamb	0 0 0 0
Small pork	3	8	4 4		

COVENT GARDEN MARKET, LONDON, Saturday, March 14.—Foreign imports continue heavy; they comprise asparagus, green peas, artichokes, lettuce, endive, and carrots. Good English pears are difficult to obtain, and but few French one can be had. Pine-apples are now realising good prices, as are also hot-house grapes. Strawberries continue to make their appearance. Cornish broccoli is plentiful and good. Potatoes have not altered in price since our last report. Flowers chiefly consist of orchids, cyclamens, Chinese primulas, pelargoniums, mignonette, early tulips, hyacinths, poinsettia pulcherrima, and roses.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, March 16.—Since our last report our market has continued very active, and fine samples show a further advance of 3*s.* to 5*s.* per cwt. the supply on offer being now very limited. Continental markets are much firmer. Alost and Poperinghe hops are quoted from 5*s.* to 7*s.* higher, with a very small quantity on hand. Bavarians have also somewhat improved in price, and the great scarcity of really fine descriptions causes holders to be very firm. New York advices to the 3rd inst. report no change of importance in the market; a better feeling, however, is apparent, which, it is hoped, will lead to a brisker trade.

shortly. Mid and East Kent, 51. 5s., 61. 15s., to 71. 15s.; Weald of Kent, 41. 10s., 51. 5s., to 61. 5s.; Sussex, 41. 10s., 51. 5s., to 61. 10s.; Farnham 71. 15s., to 81. 5s.; yearlings, 51. 10s., 41. to 41. 10s. The imports of foreign hops into London last week consisted of 39 bales from Boulogne, 25 from Bremen, 124 Dunkirk, 56 Pillau, and 111 bales from Rotterdam.

PROVISIONS, Monday, March 16.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 36 firkins butter, and 3,855 bales bacon; and from foreign parts, 16,383 casks, &c., butter, and 638 bales bacon. The season for Irish butter may be considered as over. Foreign sells well; prices generally supported, with the exception of Dutch, which declined 10s. per cwt. The bacon market remains steady, with little alteration in the value of Irish. Hamburg advanced 2s. per cwt.

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, March 16.—These markets are heavily supplied with potatoes. For all qualities the trade has ruled quiet, at our quotations. The imports into London last week consisted of 40 tons from Boulogne, 185 Caen, 130 Rouen, 45 Havre, 30 Dunkirk, and 40 tons from Harlingen. Regents, 130s. to 160s. per ton; flukes, 130s. to 170s.; rocks, 110s. to 140s.; French, 95s. to 150s.

SEED, Monday, March 16.—Red cloverseed was in fair supply; good qualities were in steady demand, at rather more money for such. White cloverseed was held on very high terms, and in fair request. Trefolls were placed more placed more freely, at full rates for the best. Alsike sold at high prices at a moderate demand. Foreign tares were pressing offered, being abundant; all buyers were enabled to secure as many as they wanted at reasonable bids, and prices were irregular.

WOOL, Monday, March 16.—The demand for English wool is scarcely so active, but the quotations on the whole are well supported. The export demand is altogether nominal. Stocks remain about stationary.

OIL, Monday, March 16.—Linseed oil has moved off slowly, on easier terms. For rape oil there has been but little inquiry, and prices have favoured purchasers. Coconut oil has commanded more attention, but olive and palm oils have been neglected.

TALLOW, Monday, March 16.—The market is firmer, at 48s. 6d. for P. Y. C., on the spot. Town tallow is 42s. 6d. net cash.

COAL, Monday, March 16.—Wallsend Hetton's 18s. 6d., Haswell 18s. 6d., Caradoc 17s. 9d., Cassop 17s. 6d., Kellie 16s. 9d., Hartlepool 17s. 8d., Hough Hall 17s. 6d., Tees 18s., Hartley's Buddle's W. 16s. 3d. Ships at market, 160; sold, 104.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—OLD SORES, WOUNDS, AND ULCERS.—It is surprising how quickly any sore, ulcer, or wound drains away the body's strength and unfits it for the duties of life; but it is no less wonderful to watch how these tropical affluents improve on the application of Holloway's healing Ointment. It has achieved the surest and most glorious triumphs over bad legs, foul ulcerations, and knotted veins, which had confounded the faculty, and well nigh worn out their victims. It creates sound flesh, and therefore makes its cures complete. When this Ointment is properly applied, and assisted by appropriate doses of the Pills, the pain, inflammation, and other morbid manifestations soon disappear from the affected part, and health and strength return.

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The SOCIETY'S TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE will be held on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY, the 5th and 6th of May, at the CANNON-STREET HOTEL, LONDON.

Delegates may be appointed by:—
1. Local Committees, or, in the absence of such Committees, by the subscribers in any place.
2. Meetings publicly called for the purpose.
3. Public bodies.
4. In addition to the above modes of appointment, a delegate may be appointed by the signatures of not fewer than twenty-five persons in any place or district.

It is not necessary that either the delegates to the Conference, or the parties appointing them, shall have been previously connected with the Society; the only qualification required being an implied concurrence in the Society's objects, and in the propriety of organised effort to obtain for them legislative sanction.

Further information may be obtained on application to the Secretary.

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary.

2, Serjeants'-inn, Fleet-street, E.C.

THE Rev. W. M. PUNSHON, M.A., has consented, at the request of his friends, to DELIVER, before he leaves England, a NEW LECTURE on "Florence and her Memories," in EXETER HALL, on THURSDAY, 2nd April, at Eight o'clock p.m.

Tickets for Reserved Seats, numbered and cushioned, immediately before the Platform, 10s. each (to be had only at 165, Aldersgate-street); Reserved Seats on the Platform and in the Central Area, 5s. each; General Seats beyond these Reserves, 2s. 6d. each, may be had of James Nisbet and Co., 21, Berners-street, Oxford-street; Dalton and Lucy, 28, Cockspur-street; Waters, 97, Westbourne-grove; Warren Hall and Co., 88, Camden-road; Burdick, 97, Upper-street, Islington; Alvey, 119, Newington-causeway; The Book Society, 28, Paternoster-row; Williams and Lloyd, 29, Moorgate-street; Bennett, 5, Bishopsgate-street; Tweedie, 387, Strand; and Mr. Mason, 165, Aldersgate-street, E.C.

SURREY MISSION.

The SEVENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY of this Society will be held at the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, the Rev. Dr. M'Farlane's, OLAPHAM RISE, APRIL 21. Preacher, the Rev. S. MARTIN, of Westminster.

APPRENTICESHIP SOCIETY.

The next HALF-YEARLY ELECTION will take place at 18, SOUTH-STREET, FINCHBURY, on TUESDAY, March 31. The Poll will commence at Eleven o'clock and close at One precisely.

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8. The finest scented Caper, 3s. a lb. This is a small, shotty leaf, very compact and heavy, drinks very brisk and pungent. It is rather a plebeian tea, but is occasionally tried by diligent seekers after excellence, who at last settle down to the "Princely Kyshow."

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